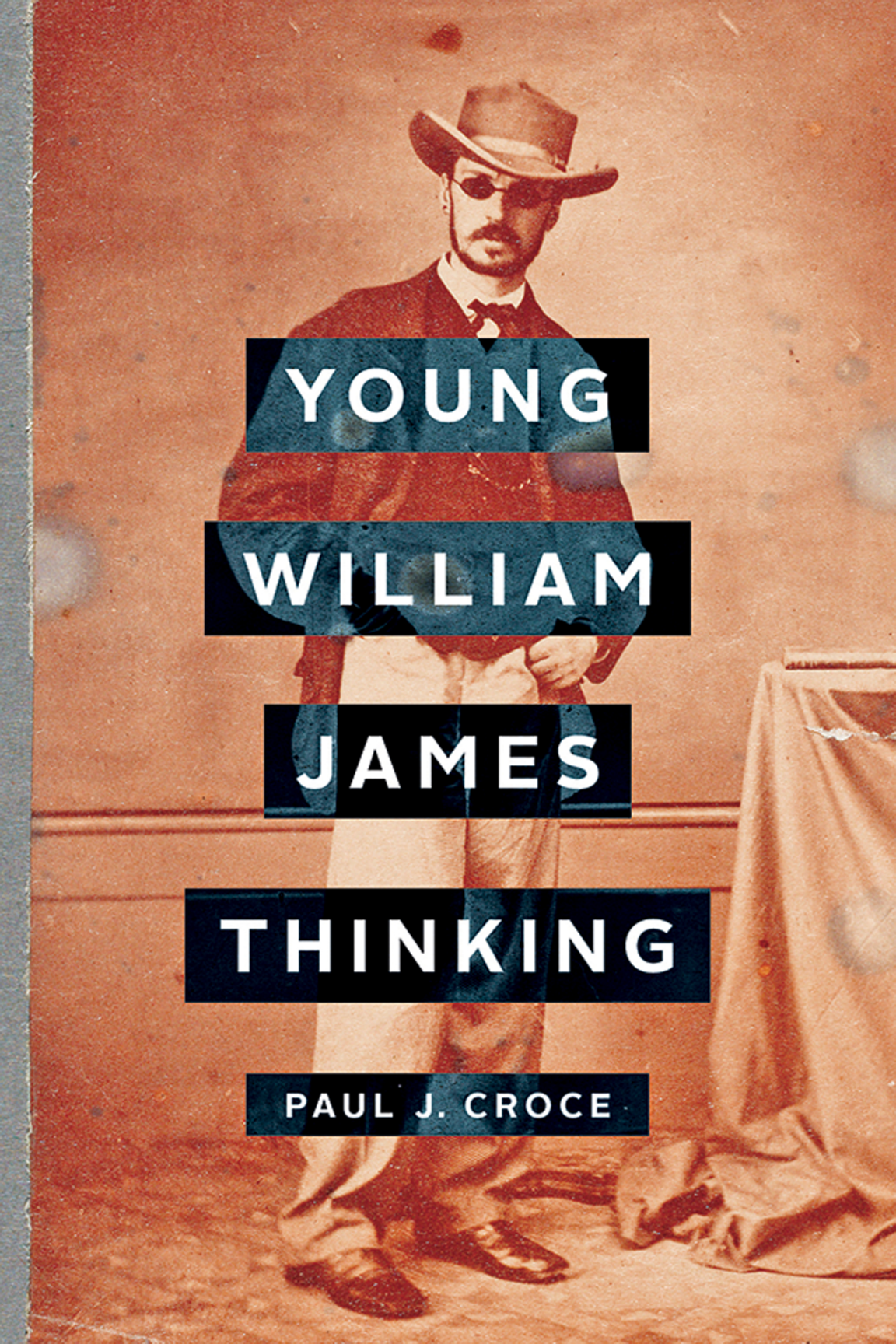

YOUNG
WILLIAM
JAMES
THINKING
PAUL J. CROCE

VISIT…

Young William James Thinking

This page intentionally left blank

Young William James Thinking

PAUL J. CROCE

Johns Hopkins University Press
Baltimore

© 2018 Johns Hopkins University Press
All rights reserved. Published 2018
Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper
2 4 6 8 9 7 5 3 1

Johns Hopkins University Press
2715 North Charles Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21218-4363
www.press.jhu.edu

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Croce, Paul Jerome, author.
Title: Young William James thinking / Paul J. Croce.
Description: Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2017004269 | ISBN 9781421423654 (hardcover : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781421423661 (electronic) | ISBN 1421423650 (hardcover : alk. paper) | ISBN 1421423669 (electronic)
Subjects: LCSH: James, William, 1842–1910. | Philosophers—United States—Biography.
Classification: LCC B945.J24 C76 2017 | DDC 191—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2017004269

A catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Special discounts are available for bulk purchases of this book. For more information, please contact Special Sales at 410-516-6936 or specialsales@press.jhu.edu.

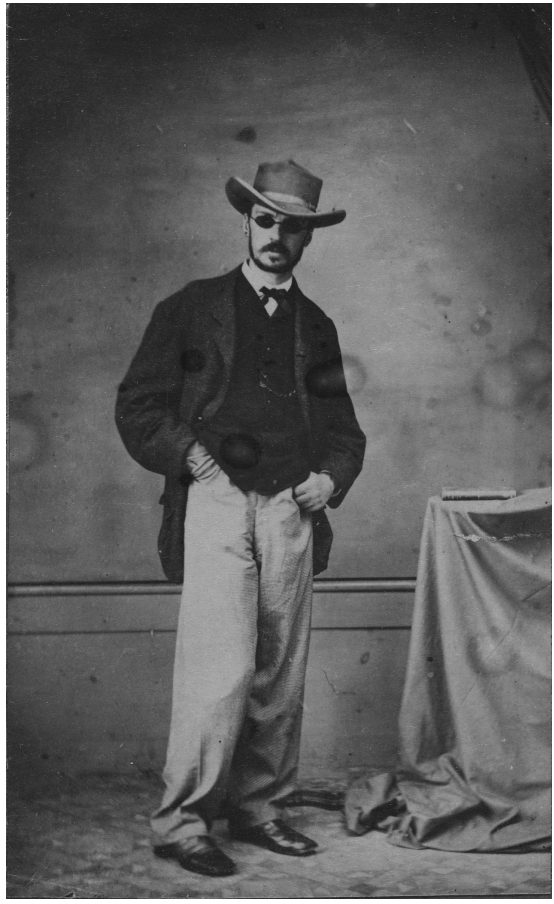
Johns Hopkins University Press uses environmentally friendly book materials, including recycled text paper that is composed of at least 30 percent post-consumer waste, whenever possible.

To Peter and Elizabeth
From these young trees, what fruits may grow?

This page intentionally left blank

Things take the time they take. . . . How many roads did
St. Augustine follow before he became St. Augustine?

Mary Oliver



Portrait of the Young Scientist Thinking about Philosophy. William James papers, "William James in Brazil after the attack of small-pox," portrait photograph, 1865, bMS Am 1092.2 (1185). Courtesy of Bay James and the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Although William James looks rather hip by contemporary standards, styles have changed since this photograph from the summer of 1865, when he was wearing glasses to protect his eyes which were still sensitive from a case of variola minor, a mild form of smallpox, while on a natural history expedition in the Brazilian Amazon. At first, illness gave his face "the appearance of an immense ripe raspberry," and closer to the time of the photo, he wrote to his sister Alice: "What would blessed mother say if she saw me now . . . in a frightfully dilapidated state, with shaven head & fuzzy chin . . . & cheeks bloated with the remains of my small pox" (CWJ, 4:105 and 115). This image captures young James, trying on the field of natural history but beginning to doubt his appetite for a scientific vocation. He reported to his father that he had a "feeling that this work [is] not in my path" and that he had "a pining after books and study" (CWJ, 4:107). From the depths of the Amazon, he vowed to his brother Henry, "I'm going to study philosophy all my days" (CWJ, 1:8).

Chronology xi
Acknowledgments xvii

An Invitation 1

INTRODUCTION
Almost a Philosopher 3

1
First Embrace of Science 27

2
Between Scientific and Sectarian Medicine 77

3
The Ancient Art of Natural Grace 134

4
Crises and Construction 187

CONCLUSION
An Earnestly Inquiring State 262

Notes 279
Bibliography 315
Index 355

This page intentionally left blank

Unless identified differently, all references are to William James.

1811	Henry James, Senior, born
1821	Massachusetts General Hospital founded
January 1842	William James born
1844	American Institute of Homeopathy founded
1844	Henry James, Senior, discovers homeopathy and the philosophy of Emanuel Swedenborg
1847	American Medical Association founded
1847	The Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard University founded and considers adding classical philology to its curriculum
1857	Attends first science class in Boulogne, France
1860–61	Studies art in Newport with William Morris Hunt
April 1861	The American Civil War begins
Fall 1861	Enters Lawrence Scientific School as student of chemistry with Charles Eliot
September 1861	Visits the Boston Athenæum to see the cast collection replicating ancient sculptures, contemporary work with similar style, and landscape paintings
1862	Meets "C. S. Pierce" [*sic*] (Charles Sanders Peirce) and discusses science, philosophy, and belief
Spring 1863	Takes leave of absence from the science school; reads widely in science and other fields, with a particular interest in psychology
Fall 1863	Resumes at Lawrence Scientific School, now as student of physiology with Jeffries Wyman

December 1863	Shows interest in the work of asylums for the insane
1864	Enrolls in Harvard Medical School; James family moves to Boston
August 1864	Reports "a feeling of desolation so dire that I have never had any experience at all approaching it"
January 1865	Writes first publication: review of Thomas Henry Huxley
April 1865	Departs on Thayer Expedition for Brazil, led by Louis and Elizabeth Cary Agassiz; American Civil War ends
May 1865	Contracts mild form of smallpox, giving him visual sensitivity
January 1866	Returns from Brazil
June 1866	First reads Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations*
Fall 1866	Reenrolls at medical school; serves as "acting house surgeon" at Massachusetts General Hospital; physiologist Edouard Brown-Séquard begins teaching at Harvard
April 1867	Sails for Europe to pursue scientific study of physiology and psychology, as well as improved health
August 1867	First visit to water cure in Teplitz, Bohemia
September 1867	Moves to Berlin to attend lectures of physiologist Emil du Bois-Reymond, while hoping for laboratory work
1868	Publishes two reviews of Charles Darwin's *Domestication of Animal and Plants*
January and April 1868	Returns to water cure in Teplitz
March 1868	Reads Darwin and Homer's *Odyssey* and visits cast collection of ancient sculpture at the Zwinger Museum, Dresden, Germany
April 1868	First use of word *positivist*
May 1868	First use of the word *crisis*: "[M]y feelings came to a sort of crisis"
July 1868	Describes his inability to find lectures by Hermann von Helmholtz in Heidelberg as a "fiasco" and a "crisis"
August–September 1868	Visits water cure in Divonne, France
October 1868	First reads Charles Renouvier
November 1868	Returns from Europe to Cambridge

December 1868	Chooses medical thesis topic on the physiological effects of cold
1869	Charles Eliot becomes president of Harvard
1869	George Beard offers first detailed identification of "Neurasthenia, or Nervous Exhaustion"
June 1869	Takes medical exams, earns M.D. from Harvard Medical School
October 1869	John James Garth Wilkinson, M.D., prescribes homeopathic remedies for William James
November 1869	Makes vow never to marry
January 1870	Writes in diary, "I about touched bottom," with "a great dorsal collapse" and "a moral one"
March 1870	His cousin and good friend Mary (Minny) Temple dies
April 1870	Diary entry: "My first act of free will shall be to believe in free will. . . . Recollect that only when habits of order are formed can we advance to really interesting fields of action"
May 1870	Uses term *crisis* as a welcome stage in water cure, in describing the health problems of his brother Henry as "a winding up crisis"
May 1870	Writes "I at last see a certain order in the state I'm in"
July 1870	Writes to Robertson James, "[O]ne thing is certain, that through abridgement & deprivation we learn of resources within us, of whose existence we should else have remained ignorant"
1871	James's friend Henry Bowditch appointed by Harvard as first full-time, laboratory-based teacher of physiology in America
1872	Working steadily in Henry Bowditch's physiological laboratory; appointed instructor of physiology, to begin teaching the following spring
Spring 1873	Teaches his first course, in comparative physiology
March 1873	His father writes about William James to his brother, Henry: "He saw that the mind does act irrespectively of material coercion, and could be dealt with therefore at first hand"
April 1873	Notes in diary: "[M]y deepest interest will as ever lie with the most general problems. . . . the concrete facts

	in which a biologists' responsibilities lie, form a fixed basis from which to aspire . . . to the mastery of the universal questions"
May 1873	Suffers a "pessimistic crisis" according to June 1877 message to Alice Gibbens
August 1873	Writes on the importance of "Vacations" to counter the effects of nervous exhaustion
September 1873	Appointed instructor in anatomy
1874	Appointed temporary director of the Laboratory and Museum of Comparative Anatomy at Harvard
1874	Endorses hydropathy (water cure) in a review of a physiology book
1874–75	Teaches a course on the relations between physiology and psychology, the first psychology course taught in the United States, and this was likely the season of James's founding of the first American psychological laboratory
1876	Appointed assistant professor of physiology
October 1876	Writes that "[m]y attitude toward Religion is one of deference rather than of adoption"
1876–77	Henry James, Junior, publishes *The American*, with depiction of a minister, Rev. Benjamin Babcock; William James's response: "I was not a little amused to find some of my own attributes in . . . the morbid little clergyman"
April 1877	Informs Daniel Coit Gilman, president of Johns Hopkins University, of his availability to teach psychology there
June 1877	Writes to Alice Gibbens about a "characteristic attitude in me [that] always involves an element of active tension. . . . Take away the guarantee, and I feel (provided I am . . . in vigorous condition) a sort of deep enthusiastic bliss, of bitter willingness to do and suffer anything"
September 1877	Peirce calls James "deeply read in the old Philosophies" and "thoroughly a scientific man"
1877–78	Peirce publishes "Illustrations of the Logic of Science" series

January 1878	Publishes "Remarks on Spencer's Definition of Mind as Correspondence"
February 1878	Delivers Johns Hopkins Lectures in Baltimore, "The Senses and the Brain and Their Relation to Thought"
June 1878	Accepts proposal from publisher Henry Holt to write a psychology text for the American Science Series, which would become *Principles of Psychology* and *Psychology: Briefer Course*
July 1878	Marries Alice Howe Gibbens; publishes "Brute and Human Intellect"
October–November 1878	Delivers Lowell Lectures in Boston, "The Brain and the Mind"
July 1879	Publishes "The Sentiment of Rationality"
1880	Appointed assistant professor of philosophy
1882	Henry James, Senior, dies
1885	Appointed professor of philosophy
1889	Appointed professor of psychology
1890	Publishes *The Principles of Psychology*
1892	Publishes *Psychology: Briefer Course*
1894	Writes critique of a Massachusetts law restricting the practice of medicine to mainstream doctors
June 1896	Publishes "The Will to Believe," the first essay in *The Will to Believe and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy*, 1897
1897	Appointed professor of philosophy
1898	Appears before Massachusetts legislature to oppose a law to create a board of medical registration to oversee the practice of medicine
August 1898	Delivers the lecture in Berkeley, Calif., "Philosophical Conceptions and Practical Results," which made the first public use of the word *pragmatism*
1899	Publishes *Talks to Teachers on Psychology and to Students on Some of Life's Ideals*
1899	Declined appointment to Gifford Lecturer, due to heart condition
1901–2	Delivers Gifford Lectures in Scotland, published as *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature*, 1902

1903	Declares, "I *know* homeopathic remedies are not inert, as orthodox medicine insists they neccessarily [*sic*] must be"
June 1904	Writes to Frank Abauzit, the French translator of *The Varieties*: "The document [depicting a French correspondent's "panic fear"] is my own case—acute neurasthenic attack with phobia"
September–October 1904	Publishes "Does 'Consciousness' Exist?" and "A World of Pure Experience," the first essays in *Essays in Radical Empiricism*, 1912
1907	Retires from full-time teaching
1907	Publishes *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking*
May 1908	Delivers the Hibbert Lectures at Oxford, England, on the "Present Situation in Philosophy," published as *A Pluralistic Universe*, 1909
1908–9	Praises lymph-compound hormone supplement for boosting his energy since about 1900.
1909	Publishes *The Meaning of Truth: A Sequel to "Pragmatism"*
1909	Makes frequent visits to homeopathic doctors James Taylor and John Madison Taylor (no relation to each other)
September 1909	Meets Sigmund Freud at Clark University conference
1910	William James dies
1911	*Some Problems of Philosophy* published
1912	*Essays in Radical Empiricism* published

Uncle William James—that is the familiar image of America's most popular philosopher. He is widely admired as a genial presence across many disciplines and among many folks without such academic disciplining. But he often remains only a charming figure, eminently quotable, with his words tapped for spicing up an article or the beginning of a book—or a greeting card—before getting down to more serious business. These are important qualities, but we can make more use of James, not just for his charming phrases, but also for his deep insights with potential to shed light on some of our most nettlesome cultural and intellectual puzzles, especially since he presents his philosophizing with clear writing and evocative imagery.

"Philosophies paint pictures," James said, with words that describe his ability to find simple and sharp words for big ideas. He offers explanations about connections where most see separation or tension, in religion and science, mind and body, spirit and nature, freedom and order, acceptance and struggle, and truth and change; each is a big player in human life, and James shows their common sources in the material and immaterial flows of experience. And he sheds light into often-hidden corners of human thoughts and interactions, including the elusiveness of certainties even as we crave them nonetheless, the ability of nonrational thoughts to seize and shape our reason, the formation of contrasting worldviews even among those who examine the same facts, and the opportunities to learn from our troubles. To tap these deeper veins, readers can do no better than to go to The Works of William James, *19 volumes, and* The Correspondence of William James, *12 volumes. My first thanks go to the editors, teams of scrupulous scholars coordinated by Frederick Burkhardt and Freson Bowers, and by John McDermott, Ignas Skrupskelis, and Elizabeth Berkeley, respectively, and to Harvard University Press and the University Press of Virginia for producing these large treasure troves of his words.*

Young William James Thinking *is a one-volume guide to the emerging themes that would make their way into his mature theories. The young adult James expressed his ideas with less sophistication, but with more directness, unguarded by disciplinary expectations. This book is a prologue to the better-known James. Here, readers can go to the sources of his intellectual development—to find out how William James became the William James of confidence, high reputation, influence, charm, and cultural and intellectual debate. And for experts in his mature theories in psychology, philosophy, religious studies, history of science, and cultural studies, the explanations and stories here present a chance to meet James again for the first time. In writing this book, I also ran into some of the insights and wisdom of this psychologist and philosopher while he was in formation in ways I never could have imagined.*

Writing about a young person in development brings to mind my own life in development during the many years of producing this book. William James has been a welcome companion. His profound theories and clever turns of phrase became not just topics of research but also points of inspiration. This came home to me most strikingly in December 2002. That season, I had been working on chapter 2, on James's medical practices, but for the previous few weeks, blurry vision in my left eye was making reading a little difficult. My eye doctor did some tests and asked for an MRI, "just to rule some things out." A few days later, the doctor called to say that the MRI results could now explain my blurry vision; I had a tumor near my pituitary gland that was pushing on my optic nerve. After immediately imagining the worst, and getting advice on next steps, within a few hours, I was back at my writing desk, revising the paragraph I had written the day before.

Despite my personal woes, I was immersing myself in the words of William James, about his medical education no less. One particular phrase jumped out at me. In the late 1860s, when he was in a slough of discouragement about his own career and his personal prospects, he had an insight that grew from his reading of ancient philosophy, from his wrestling with current physiological psychology, and from the crucible of his own troubles: "Results shd. not be too voluntarily aimed at or too busily thought of." Like James, I too was discouraged, but also, like him, letting go of results had a "potent effect in my inner life." Without knowing my medical fate, I continued my small daily pegging. My medical adventure made any final results of my work irrelevant; there was no planning for publication or even for just completing the book. But there was the process, the doing, and that was

what mattered. I had read his words about the challenges he endured, about his utter discouragement, even as he continued learning and working; but now I had knowledge by acquaintance, as he would say about realizations that surge from lived experience, about the firm resolve he forged in his youth to continue growing, to continue his efforts, as goals in and of themselves without any idea of what they would lead to, if anything. By the end of his years as a student and then as a teacher of science, from 1861 to 1877, when he was searching for direction in his vocation, philosophical orientation, and personal life, he didn't solve the problems of his youth; he worked around them, and he worked through them, without expecting results. This was a freeing mental posture that allowed him to take his "first act of free will" in 1870.

So I want to thank my audacious visitor, the craniopharyngioma brain tumor, which, in the company of a confused young science student a century and a half ago, helped to teach me how ideas take on a vital reality and how a philosopher comes of age. At the end of his youth, in 1878, James embarked on writing a psychology text; it would take so many years that he called it his "dropsical mass." I learned to appreciate his patience and stick-to-itiveness, as my mother would say, since I took an even longer time on the present work after publication of my previous book, *Eclipse of Certainty*, on the contexts in science and religion surrounding William James. A tumor was just one of many parts of life's happenings that shaped plans, by day and by year, while the book grew, like filling a bathtub with an eye dropper. Little could I know the gifts in each distraction. The tumor brought awareness of physical finality and a prod to gratitude. Helping students hone their skills and improve their understanding taught me to hone my own arts of explanation; writing for newspapers and blogs taught me to write with clarity and concision. Friends and colleagues provided a comfortable home base for the work of a teacher-scholar; and family, that microcommunity of people at once intimate and "different from yourself," as James said of his own birth family, offered a soul school of joy surpassing words and of challenges to patience, all knit together by the enduring power of love. I thank them all for all their gifts, even when they didn't know they were giving.

When reviewing my path toward this book, I offer still more thanks for the gifts of people linked to it by wide spans of time and proximity. Although many years have passed since my own formal education, I thank the dedication of my O'Connell High School teachers, especially Tom McNichol for his tough love, and the rigorous work of professors at Georgetown

University, especially Emmett Curran for his deliberate passion. From days in graduate school at Brown University, I continue to benefit from the profound inspirations of Wendell Dietrich, Mary Gluck, William McLoughlin, James Patterson, Joan Richards, Barton St. Armand, John Thomas, Sumner Twiss, and Gordon Wood, and from the exuberant brilliance of John E. Smith at Yale University. Their model scholarship and teaching provided a rich platform for launching a career.

After brief stopovers teaching for two few years back at Georgetown, then at Rollins College, I have made a career in DeLand, Florida, at Stetson University. On this personal and intellectual journey, I offer special thanks to Sam Crane and Mo Strype, Bill and Lori Francis, Julie Billingsley and John McNeill, Jack Lane and Gary Williams, and all the faculty at Stetson, who sustain a welcoming intellectual home. Thanks also to deans Gary Maris, Grady Ballenger, and Karen Ryan for steady support of research. I send out special thanks to the late John Hague, who was a model of intellectual curiosity and gentlemanly grace, to Emily Mieras, trusted collaborator in American studies and the arts of teaching, and to Phillip Lucas and Bob Sitler for friendships so refined.

In the broader orbits of academia, I thank the many scholars who have read and commented on aspects of this book and its ideas in progress through correspondence and conference sessions: Catherine Albanese, Randall Albright, Ermine Lawrence Algaier IV, Stephen Alter, William Barnard, Andrea Birch, Tony Birch, Daniel Bjork, Francesca Bordogna, Michael Brady, Lynn Bridgers, Kyle Bromhall, Rosa Calcaterra, Charles Capper, Ramón del Castillo, Mary Cayton, Deborah Coon, George Cotkin, Henry Cowles, Donald Crosby, Pamela Crosby, Anthony DeStefanis, Ann Douglas, James Duban, Marilyn Fischer, Norris Frederick, Steve Gillon, Richard Hall, Anders Hallengren, David Hollinger, Carol Holly, José Jatuff, Hans Joas, Amy Kittelstrom, Alexander Klein, Louise Knight, Eric Kurlander, John Lachs, David Lamberth, Paul Lauritzen, Jackson Lears, Sarin Marchetti, Erin McKenna, Jay Mechling, Mark Moller, Jill Morawski, Les Muray, Jim Pawelski, Robert Perkins, Sylvia Perkins, Scott Pratt, Hilary Putnam, Michael Raposa, Joan Richardson, Daniel Rinn, Jon Roberts, Charlene Haddock Seigfried, Roberta Sheehan, Linda Simon, Jeff Sklansky, Larry Smith, Dennis Soelch, Flavia Stara, David Steigerwald, Paul Stob, Emma Sutton, Ann Taves, Eugene Taylor, James Turner, Claudio Viale, Peter Walker, Celia Watson, Robb Westbrook, Jane Williams-Hogan, Ulf Zackariasson, Leila Zenderland, and Devin Zuber. Each contact has been a

learning experience. In addition, Logi Gunnarsson, Jim Kloppenberg, David Leary, Bob Richardson, and Richard Cándida Smith read earlier drafts of the entire manuscript and offered learned and astute advice; I can only hope that the final version of this work lives up to their high standards. Thanks also to Carlin Romano for suggesting the title.

Librarians are the great information organizers in our era of information explosion. I am grateful to the outstanding librarians at Harvard's Houghton and Pusey Libraries, for directing me through sometimes-arcane archival paths, and at Stetson's DuPont-Ball Library for their quick work with book orders, interlibrary loan requests, and a steady stream of research questions. I have benefited from all their excellent work, and I offer a special thanks to Sims Kline, who could transform an inquiry into a magical treasure hunt.

Institutions and individuals have granted permission to quote from manuscript material. In particular, for use of the William James Papers (bMS Am 1092.9–1092.12), the James Family Papers (bMS Am 1094), and the James Family Publication Accounts and Correspondence, 1890–1923 (MS Am 1435), I thank Bay James and the Houghton Library, Harvard University. These materials have enabled some of the most intimate inquiries of this book.

It has been a pleasure to work with Johns Hopkins University Press, which lives up to its reputation for commitment to sound cultural and intellectual history and for cutting-edge savvy. And for her crisp insights on the world of books, from the intellectual nuances of historical contexts to the business of publishing, many thanks to Elizabeth Demers.

My warmest thanks go to my family. I am only sorry that my parents did not live to see this product of my academic work that they so keenly encouraged; they were models of devotion to each other and to their children, with unstinting love expressed pragmatically, in action. Thanks too for the steady support of my siblings, Andrea and Tony, and John and Margaret. I am also grateful to Ann Jerome for support during the early phases of this project and throughout the medical challenges, and I am grateful that the tumor came and went allowing me to carry on with work, family, and life in general. And I thank my children, Peter and Elizabeth, for their intellectual curiosity, intuitive awareness, and humane sympathies. They have been a grounding presence in my life and for my work, pointing out when I "complexify" things and doing their best to "coolify" me. I dedicate this book to them with love, with thanks, and with hopes for the future—their futures,

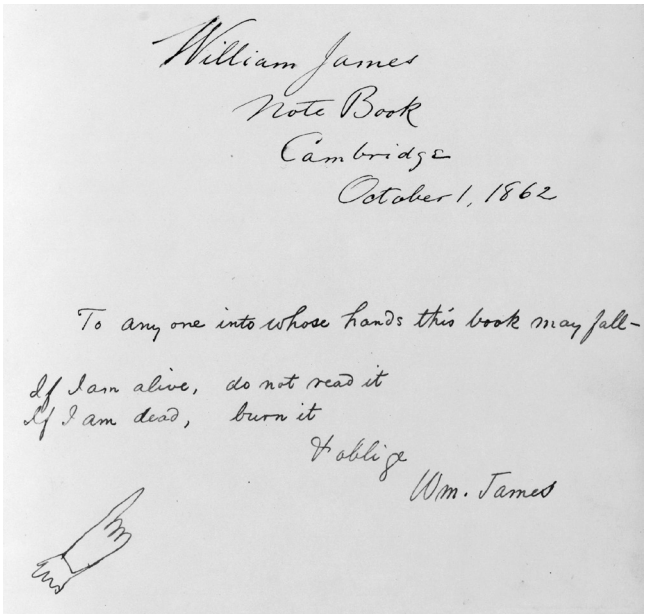
and the contributions they are already making to the world's future. James's son remembered that his father was "perennially 'keen' about new things and future things, about beginnings and possibilities." As with young William James, the lives of Elizabeth and Peter point to the "validity of possibility."

Young William James Thinking

This page intentionally left blank

In his young adulthood, William James guarded his private thoughts, preserving them in his personal notebooks or doling them out in letters to friends. His coming of age was prolonged and often troubled, but that rarely stopped him from writing down his thoughts and feelings. He had the obsessions of an intellectual: What about this idea? That's an interesting new fact. What are the implications of that feeling? And even, as he wrote in an April 1868 diary entry, "Look it up!" Now, a century after his death, and more than a century and a half after he first started trying out his ideas on paper, this book offers an invitation to witness young William James thinking.

Welcome to the private intellectual world of young man James, beginning with a page from a personal notebook he started during his twenty-first year. He was in his third semester of scientific study and, as these earnest comments show, was also wondering about his next steps—in his career, in his philosophy of life, in his health, and in his personal relations with his family and friends. In other words, he was muddled and exploring. And through his troubles, he was also finding his future direction.


William James
Note Book
Cambridge
October 1, 1862

To any one into whose hands this book may fall—

If I am alive, do not read it
If I am dead, burn it

Yobligo
Wm. James

[Notebook 3], October 1, 1862, William James papers, bMS Am 1092.9 (4497) , p. [2]. Courtesy of Bay James and the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

A Splendid Cure for Melancholy at the Water Cure in Divonne, France.

William James papers, bMS Am 1092.2 (28). Courtesy of Bay James and the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Even when studying mainstream medicine on his way to earning his M.D. in 1869, young James regularly used hydropathy, the alternative healing practice also known as water cure, but did not rely on it exclusively—he even sometimes grew impatient with its slow impact. While studying physiology and psychology in Europe in 1867–68, James also often grew discouraged about his vocational indecision and single state, and he visited water cures for his mental and physical health. At Divonne, he found the "water-works . . . excellent" (letter to his physiologist friend Henry Bowditch, CWJ, 4:339), but he imagined a still more "vortrefflich gegen Melancholie" (splendid [cure] for melancholy) by presuming, despite his social awkwardness, that he could actually attract the attention of a small crowd of admiring women.

Almost a Philosopher

> The exaggerated dignity and value that philosophers have claimed for their solutions: . . . This is why so few human beings truly care for Philosophy. . . . theoretic rationality is but one of a thousand human purposes.
>
> William James, 1879

In August 1868, William James was eager to remedy his single state. At age twenty-six, he had generally lived at home, but now he was on his own in Europe, seeking to improve his scientific credentials and his health. His postponed vocational commitment and his frequent eye, back, and digestive problems, punctuated by periods of utter discouragement, did not boost his confidence in relating with women. But in Dresden he had met a fellow American, Catherine Havens, who was also in Europe seeking improved health. He was clearly smitten, but he felt awkward. In their "forced separation," when he was in Divonne, France, he admitted often "posing" himself as a "model of calm cheerfulness and heroism." From that posture he often felt better when giving "moral advice" to her than when trying to act boldly himself. Now he admitted that he did not even know "how to talk to a 'jeune fille' [young lady] after being introduced." Not sure of his next steps with her, he called his own words "a quantity of non-sense."[1] *Such ambivalence was a burden not only on his romantic prospects but throughout the young adulthood of William James.*

James had traveled to Europe, on leave from Harvard Medical School, to improve his understanding of the latest investigations in physiology and anatomy relating to psychology, especially the research at German universities and laboratories. He spent most of his time since arriving in April of the previous year shuttling between Berlin, where he attended physiology lectures, and a water-cure establishment in Teplitz, Bohemia, for his health. He was eager to gain mastery of the German language with its "truly monstrous sentences" and ready to learn from both the materialist science of Emil du Bois-Reymond

and the alternative sectarian health practice of hydropathy, with its use of water in many forms to boost the living strength of patients. In between his scientific and sectarian visits, James stayed in Dresden in Saxony, then independent, but soon part of a united Germany. He steadily improved his knowledge of German by reading science texts and "Kant's Kritik" and by "looking up the subject" of hydropathy that he was using at the Teplitz water cure. He was also eager to read the work of the English scientific synthesizer, "Herbert Spencer's biology;" the Bible; "a little book by . . . one Ch. Renouvier," a French philosopher who advocated for the potency of free will; and, following his father's spiritual enthusiasms, "one of [Emanuel] Swedenborg's treatises."[2] *As his eclectic reading suggests, he was ready to learn contrasting views, which further added to his ambivalence.*

While visiting the Établissement hydrothérapique in Divonne, with a "bold desire & intention *to get well at any effort," despite the slowness of this remedy's impact on his constitutional strength, and with steady work "hovering and dipping about the portals of Psychology," he also took a broad philosophical view of the jostling material and immaterial dimensions of his life. He was eager to talk "about scientific matters" with his physiologist friend Henry Bowditch, also studying science in Europe, as they both hoped "to make discoveries" with impacts on medicine and beyond. And yet, he also declared that "fragments of man (thoughts, smiles) . . . [are] worth more in the world than . . . chemical reactions that could replace them." Perhaps it was during one of those reflective moments when James stepped back from his eagerness to improve his health and his science to draw a picture. The sketch depicting his time in Divonne harked back to his year of artistic training eight years earlier and made more reference to his hopes than to his actual surroundings. He had not forgotten Havens, and he felt "entranced" by another young lady at the water cure, but "she has never yet shot one beam from her eye in my direction." James the artist, however, depicted himself confidently and vigorously talking with not one "jeune fille" but seven. Even the little dog he drew seemed to hang on his every word. In the shaded bowers of the water cure, some of the ladies looked sickly, but all were in rapt attention to the young science student. And yet James presented himself with his back to the viewer, with full identity still cloaked. He tacitly acknowledged the distance of his artful imagination from his real-life situation by writing a joking caption to his work. Although staying in France and fluent in French, he used his newly acquired German; he wrote "Die Kalt Wasser Cur zu Divonne" (the cold-water cure at Divonne), and he*

added that his imagined scene would be "vortrefflich gegen Melancholie" (splendid against, or to counter, melancholy).[3]

During his stay in Divonne, James exhibited many traits of his youthful development: his attraction to science and to sectarian medicine, his confidence and social awkwardness, his art and academic learning, eager struggle and acceptance of limits, recognition of material and immaterial parts of life, and a self-deprecating sense of humor. During the 1860s and early 1870s, these commitments would animate his development but also intensify his ambivalent attitudes until his mid-thirties when he discovered ways to turn his burdens into opportunities. This book presents William James before the best-known James. Well before becoming the popular face of pragmatism and pluralism, before composing the essays on consciousness starting in 1904 showing the relation of things and thoughts that would grow into *Essays in Radical Empiricism*, before directing psychological attention to the spiritual core within abundant *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), before presenting his popular psychology and philosophy including *Talks to Teachers* (1899) and *The Will to Believe* (1897) on these topics and more to wide audiences from the 1890s, before his twelve years researching and composing his thorough and erudite *Principles of Psychology* (1890), before his appointment as a professor of philosophy in 1880, and even before he began to write his first major publications two years earlier starting at age thirty-six, James was already drawn to philosophical speculation during his early adulthood. From his late teens to his mid-thirties, he was as yet untouched by expectations for any philosophical achievements, and his speculations were guided by insights from his own experiences.

Experience was a keynote of James's thinking, first as source pulling him toward philosophizing and then as subject for theorizing. Ever since his youth, he associated experience with the natural, in contrast with the artificial. He detected artificiality in both scientific interpretations of experience in material terms and religious interpretations of experience in immaterial terms. But he also maintained that each also points to important ingredients of the sheer abundance of experience in its simultaneous physical and mental dimensions. These impulses would provide the ingredients for his later integration of objectivity and subjectivity as different expressions of what he would formally label, in 1896, "pure experience," with "two divergent kinds of context . . . woven . . . into . . . the general course of experience."

Every moment and every encounter include an uncountable riot of somatic and subjective experiences. In *The Principles* (1890), he gave the example of someone who hears "thunder crash"; it is not "thunder *pure*, but thunder-breaking-upon-silence-and-contrasting-with-it." That description finds complexity in a simple moment, but that unpacking of one split second touches only on the "objective thunder" and the "feeling of the silence just gone," without attending to the other parts of experience occurring at the same time, including the season of the year, the time of day, the personal concerns of the listener, that person's wakefulness, and more parts of experience than could be listed—and more than would be useful for most purposes, but all fully real. We select different portions of experience, James maintained, on the basis of different interests and intentions, untrue to the robust reality of experience, but useful for concrete practical purposes.[4] Early on, however, before he achieved those elaborations, James was simply open to natural experiences of all kinds, but already impatient with intellectual translations into abstractions. Natural experiences, he maintained, could not be reduced to their material components, any more than they could be understood only in immaterial terms. He honed this combination of naturalism without materialism from his own experiences in early adulthood. By the end of his young adulthood, when James became a philosopher, experience remained central to his thinking; he gravitated toward theories that would provide tangible orienting direction and toward ideas about practical consequences. And he regarded the mind's thoughts, feelings, spiritual states, and willful choices as forms of experience, still subject to all the buffeting contexts of material forces intertwining with products of mind.

James began his career by studying art and science, fields focused on natural facts; then he took up medicine as a way to gain physiological understanding of physical factors in the mind's operation just as the field of psychology was taking shape. James's best-known works continue those student inquiries with philosophy providing direction through the thicket of experiences, but as with his first work in science, he kept assessing natural experience. These inquiries began with thinking and writing for his own personal direction. Then, even with fame and sophistication, he retained his initial impulse about philosophy: theories may be useful, but they remain "monstrous abridgement[s] of things" that "cast . . . out real matter" of life as lived.[5] That was not a reason to stop theorizing. Theories guide

understanding, even as humility guided his theorizing, with that sense of limitation prompted by the sheer abundance of experience.

To comprehend the young James, this book looks forward from the outlook of his own early years, within his own contexts and experiences, to an uncharted future. The young James looking back uses expressions more simple and direct than in later compositions, but they reward attention by displaying the interrelations and thematic directions he would continue to choose for steering through his diverse interests. His early notes, letters, and short publications display the depth of his ongoing commitment to the power of experience, which so often displayed contrasts that stoked his ambivalence. Each intellectually contentious interpretation suggested an artificially selected abstraction, while experience displayed natural facts in their comprehensive abundance, which gradually would become his setting for mediation. In particular, his education in science and religion, learned both in relation to and with an eye for their applications, would train his mind toward the interaction of material and immaterial factors. He carried these insights for the rest of his life: he would not blink at the full plenum of experience, its uncountable facts and relations, its rich layers of complexity, its pockets of mystery, its invitation to appreciate contrasting points of view based on diverse interests. James's early thinking would set his philosophy in formation.

William James in Formation

My previous book, *Science and Religion in the Era of William James: Eclipse of Certainty, 1820–1880*, focuses on his family, his teachers, and his peers, circles of influence on his youth and on his whole career. This book on *Young William James Thinking* goes to the center of those circles, with James himself applying his education in science and religion, especially as their assumptions, ideas, and practices provided orienting shape to surrounding fields. This is a companion to the earlier book, with stories and evaluations of the young adult James on his way toward his mature life and thought, and with display of his youthful concerns persisting throughout his career. The earlier book of contexts tells tales of declining certainty especially through the rise of probabilistic thinking in the sciences and through secular challenges to religion, while this book reveals how he responded to these settings in his first work of young adulthood. The current book is therefore explicitly about James himself between childhood and fame, during almost

two decades before his theories earned his first flush of broad prominence in 1878.

Up until the age of nineteen when James began his formal study of science in 1861, he had already received significant educational enrichment. He was the eldest of five children of parents who had in some ways reversed conventional gender roles: the reliable and stable Mary Walsh James managed the household affairs, while the impulsive elder Henry James shaped the family's religious orientation and directed the children's education. A sizable inheritance from his own father, the Irish immigrant and first American William James who had amassed a fortune in real estate surrounding the Erie Canal and with numerous business operations in upstate New York, enabled the father to pursue his spiritual commitments. Henry James, Senior (to distinguish him from his second son, Henry James, Junior, the novelist), was a writer and lecturer inspired by Emanuel Swedenborg; he shared with the Swedish empirical mystic an ardent belief that the material world, though a mere shadow, embodied a crucial set of correspondences revealing deeper spiritual truth. With his spiritual beliefs and compelling personal energy, the "Unrev[eren]d James" readily circulated with leading Transcendentalists and reformers in the middle of the nineteenth century. These spiritual convictions also drove his devotion to the education of his children; their unstructured curriculum included frequent changes of schools in pursuit of the father's ideals, attendance at different churches, discouragement of specialization, and transatlantic travel to expose the children to "strange lingoes." The father's nurturing approach to childrearing anticipated trends that would grow after the end of his life in 1882, with the increasing importance of elective interests and of global orientations within liberal education. He insisted on fostering spontaneity and natural impulses untainted by worldly affiliation for as long as possible in order to maintain the "admirable Divine mould or anchorage" manifest in childhood innocence and wonder. With the mingling of nature and spirituality in his philosophy, he thoroughly supported scientific investigation in order to uncover the spiritual messages embedded within empirical facts. He ardently believed his philosophic ideals and was convinced of their palpably philanthropic value: Science as "God's great minister" would bring spiritual transformation away from rigid rules and raw self-interest, toward a just society guided by humanity's authentic spiritual core.[6]

Attention to the natural spontaneity of childhood would be a first step toward this ideal future. And so, as a child, William was encouraged to fol-

low his own intellectual appetites, at first with confusion, since his father insisted that what the children were to do was "just to *be something*," in his brother Henry's puzzled memory, "something unconnected with specific doing, something free and uncommitted." William's early education, along with the family's wealth, even as it was dissipating across the generations, emboldened him to stray across boundaries of discipline and convention since he had early on felt sanction to "have a say about the deepest reasons of the universe." In his fifties, when well established as "a supposed professor," as he joshed about his academic status, he would still say "it is better to *be* than to define your being." That would leave him restless with "philosophic literature" for the rest of his life. Yet he was constantly compelled to have his say, with a vow to turn his frustrations into spurs to "do it better."[7]

In the 1850s and 1860s, even the irreverent elder Henry James detected the growing power of science and hoped to ground his son's reflective temper in empirical studies. The father had been eagerly trying to connect his own philosophy to the work of some leading scientific figures: for example, physicist Joseph Henry had been his teacher in Albany, and they remained close friends, with years of substantial correspondence; and the family met physiologist William Carpenter during a visit to England, and William James would use his texts in science school and in some of his first publications. With vicarious hope, the elder James said, "I had always counted on a scientific career for Willy." Carpenter even helped the Jameses pick out a microscope as a Christmas present for William when he was in his late teens; and, indeed, the young man eagerly declared that once equipped with a "microscope . . . I would . . . go out into the country, into the dear old woods and fields and ponds . . . to make as many discoveries as possible."[8] He was exhibiting a youthful version of his father's philanthropic hopes for scientific improvement of society. True to his father's educational approach, however, another strong vocational appetite appeared: after some art lessons, William at age sixteen declared his desire to be a painter. His studies at the studio of William Morris Hunt for a year starting in 1860 fostered his humanistic leanings and his eye for the particular facts of nature. The artistic training encouraged his return to science, and in the fall of 1861 he enrolled at the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard, with his father's high hopes that this training would add scientific authority to the spirituality he had so fervently tried to instill.

William James would find in his professional training a largely different type of science from his father's belief in empirical manifestations of spiritual

truths. His peripatetic childhood education, and even his father's spirituality, especially with its worldly focus, would contribute to his curiosities about the experiential workings of the world, which he would pursue with more thoroughness and rigor in his scientific education, but with doubts about the sufficiency of materialist explanations that his father could appreciate. The diversity of his early education and the irreverence of his father would also contribute to his philosophical scrutiny of the methods and assumptions foundational to scientific work, even as he maintained a scientist's commitment to open inquiry and the grounding of speculation in natural facts. He studied physics, chemistry, anatomy, and physiology before earning his only degree, an M.D., in 1869. Starting in 1861 at the science school, then in 1864 at Harvard Medical School, and in 1865 on a natural history expedition to Brazil, he gravitated toward Darwinian methods and approaches. His scientific affiliations, spiritual concerns, and speculations about their relations would gain both stimulus and challenge from discussions in the Metaphysical Club, which would help him to take the first steps of his mature work in psychology and philosophy. Wrangling with the vigorous empiricism of Chauncey Wright and the challenging fallibilism of Charles Peirce, James joined in the club's gleaning of philosophical thought from the methods of science, which would lead to the advent of pragmatism. James began his teaching career in 1873 with courses in anatomy and physiology, and most of his initial publications were on scientific topics. Until the late 1870s, James readily called himself a scientist; science was his work, and science provided the starting points for his thinking.

During years of scientific study, James took his first steps in philosophy, even though at this point he called them "speculations." Like a moth to flame, he felt compelled to inquire, even though he felt burned by the abstract uncertainties of these deep reflections and their distance from lived experience. Speculative grubbing at finer degrees of subtlety and the renouncing of assumptions in favor of constant questioning made him feel uneasy and unstable by the late 1860s, to the point of wondering about his own sanity; he even called deep reflection an "abyss of horrors [that] would spite of everything grasp my imagination and imperil my reason."[9] For the young James, philosophical reflection was a personal business that was at once serious, compelling, and troubling. The searing intensity of philosophical reflection made him doubt its sense or worth, even as he craved its illuminating power for finding direction in life. Philosophy would remain unconnected to his vocational work at least until 1875, when he first taught a

course on the psychological processes within the anatomy and physiology courses he had been teaching for the previous two years. His prior preliminary philosophizing was designed not for the seminar room, or even for publication, but as personal guidance. He did not have school training in philosophy; instead, many of his readings, journal reflections, discussions with friends, and even correspondence with letters as reflective essays became his graduate school, but they were generally the equivalent of modern night classes, since his speculative life took place after hours and alongside his vocational work.

On one level, James's private writings clearly show private purposes. Especially because philosophy was for him a guide to life, he would write reflections about the implications of his scientific work and about his personal insights and "crises"; he wrestled privately with his thoughts to sort out his choices. Yet these private writings also show bursts of insights that he would spell out in later and more thorough published work. For example, in 1862 he declared that "nature only offers *Thing*. It is the human mind that discriminates *Things*." In his radical empiricism essays, he would call the undifferentiated mass of data that nature offers "pure experience" from which the mind carves out (or discriminates) mental conceptions. By age twenty, during his first practical encounters with empiricism in his science classes, he was already maintaining that the mental act of "division is artificial" and secondary compared to the undivided abundance of experience itself. In another example, he wrote to a friend in 1869, starting with scientific assumptions before adding his doubts: "[W]e are Nature through and through, . . . the result of physical laws, . . . *but* some point which is reason," that is, some aspects of nature are not reducible only to physical explanation. Clashing views, such as these different ways of understanding nature, present sharp contrasts, but he was already considering the weight of thinking on each side—what he would later call his pluralistic philosophy of "reality . . . in distributive form," an embrace of "the shape" of the world not as "an all" explained by a unified theory but as "a set of eaches." When he was thirty-one, he expressed the same idea quite directly: he accepted "some point[s]" from each side; the persistent "law of opposition that rules [different] opinions" filled him with ambivalence, but he was hoping to understand their relations.[10] Clearly convinced of the reality of natural facts but also restless to comprehend deep levels of meaning and interrelation, he was already positing the simultaneous life of immaterial factors within the material stuff of nature.

James worked philosophically in his private and public writings, from his youthful speculations to his mature professional ambitions, not to stay there, but to harvest the fruit of reflection—to put philosophy to use. Philosophy was an impulse, helpful but limited, and not always pleasant. His former student and admiring antagonist George Santayana said "there is a sense in which James was not a philosopher at all. . . . Philosophy to him was rather like a maze in which he happened to find himself wandering, and what he was looking for was the way out." This discomfort with formal or fixed philosophies explains his tendency to circulate with those not bounded by "exactions and tiresome talk," as the younger colleague observed; unlike most of his fellow professional intellectuals, he was attracted to eccentrics and to alternative views. Another of James's students, Charles Bakewell, who would become a Yale philosopher and Connecticut politician, remembers going to seminars in his teacher's study at his house near campus; Bakewell noted that "the small work-desk tucked away in a far corner suggested that the writing of an article or a book was just an episode in the enterprise of full and joyous living." Even allowing for a student's positive prejudice for the teacher in these glowing words, the range of James's interests and contacts shows that he did indeed regard philosophy as just one facet of human consciousness—compelling despite the discomfort it could bring. While working in science in 1873 but beginning to consider a career using his speculative interests, James complained that "a professed philosopher pledges himself publicly never to have done with doubt," which then would constantly challenge any stable assumptions. Later in life, even when established in the field, he scrutinized himself in third person, stating frankly, "he hates philosophy, especially at the beginning of a vacation," because it is "really NOT as weighty as . . . other things." Despite his scientific experience, many philosophers perceived that James was holding professional philosophy back from its need to align with the "conceptual apprehension of science," as Scottish philosopher James Seth maintained in support of the growing authority of science, while criticizing James for using "the intuitional and emotional apprehension of poetry and religion," which could produce nothing more definite than "picturesque effect." James the former science student agreed that all these human experiences need to be comprehended in relation to science but, he insisted, also in relation to still more dimensions of human experience.[11] The discomforts of philosophy kept James at work in science during his young adulthood, and later that same impulse kept his philosophical focus on lived experience.

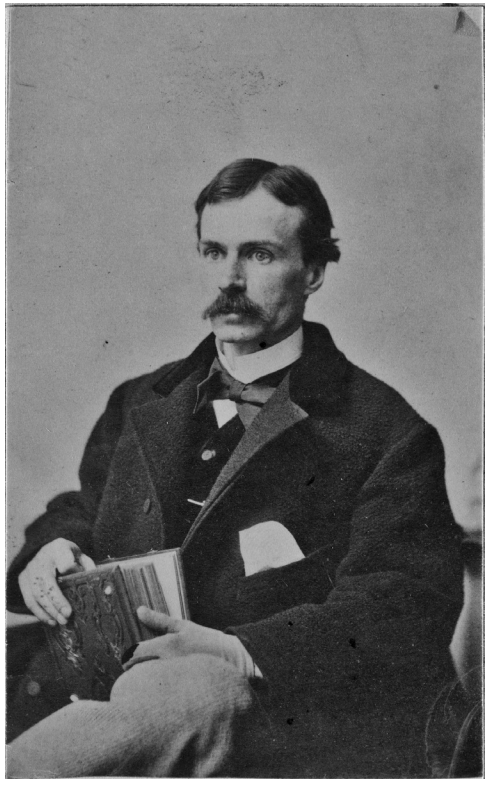
The sheer scale of the philosophical task shaped the fear of instability young James felt when speculating; and yet curiosity kept pulling him toward philosophizing, and this posture of theorizing with sensitivity to personal experience would become crucial to his introspective method. As he reported in one of his first major essays in the 1870s, he was captivated by the "brute Fact" of "existence, . . . to which . . . the emotion of ontological wonder shall rightly cleave"; and cleave it did: as he declared just months before his death in 1910, "no one has intelligibly banished the mystery of *fact*." He had spent his life examining different philosophical orientations, and still he noticed that basic "logical riddle untouched." Such puzzlements became his version of fellow pragmatist Charles Peirce's "irritation of doubt" motivating philosophical inquiry; he steadily tried to derive lessons from speculations to address the uncertainties and mysteries of life.[12] An edifying philosophy regarding truth as a function or direction could provide guidance, ways to set one's course, first of all for himself and then to a widening audience. During his young adulthood, when looking for direction, he put philosophy to work sharply on this task—pragmatic in action even before articulating pragmatic theory about action. His later philosophy was more elaborate, but speculations would never again be so useful as when they produced insights on how to live and what choices to make during his own first steps toward maturity.

In his early adulthood, James was not yet working in the field of philosophy; and in a sense, even in maturity, he entered the field of philosophy but avoided full immersion, especially as a profession with refinement of insights leading to abstractions and claims for certainty. For all his extensive learning and even with the ambitions of his last decade to write his definitive metaphysical statement, he still longed for "an earth that you can lie on, a wild tree to lean your back against." In this setting, he pictured himself with "a book in your hand . . . without reading it"—many of his ideas were difficult to put into words, especially for expression of the relations of his interests; so early on he developed the skill of reading selectively, culling insights from a wide community of discourse, often quoting abundantly. Then he pulled back from that forest of information and interpretation to present his own angle of vision. This vivid self-expression coincided with the methods of the Stoic philosophers and Ralph Waldo Emerson; like them, he was attracted to thinking for improving the art of living rather than only as a site for professional standing or precision. So he maintained that "philosophy . . . is not a technical matter"; instead, "it is our more or less dumb sense of what life

honestly and deeply means." This comment from the end of his life bears the latter-day impress of his youthful confrontations with philosophy; he remained attracted to its flames of insight but wary of its potential to burn away at our connections to experience. At age thirty-one, he vowed that he could not engage in "philosophical activity as a business," even as he quickly admitted his own philosophical drive, because "of course my deepest interest will as ever lie with the most general problems." So he explained, even as he later tried to make his own epoch-making mark, philosophy "is only partly got from books; it is our individual way of just seeing and feeling the total push and pressure of the cosmos." This personal and practical approach to philosophizing fostered his attention to the abundance of experience, not yet divided into so many "*Things*" indeed; theory brings the useful tools of discrimination and organization, but we should not mistake its neat packages for robust reality. And yet, he wondered, Was there a way of thinking that could approach fidelity to experience, making use of the mind's power to detect unifying patterns and relations while still remaining faithful to the concreteness of natural facts? "We shall see," he declared at age twenty-seven, "damn it, we shall see."[13] Understanding the depths of his own commitments is only partly got from his own books. In his early contexts, experiences, and private writings, when he was still struggling to have his say about the universe, he asked the questions and established the directions that would point him toward his mature theories. From his late thirties, when he started to publish widely and achieve fame, he still remained at heart almost a philosopher.

Beneath Many Jameses

Becoming a philosopher rarely crossed James's mind before the mid-1870s, and when it did, the career seemed a remote dream—or nightmare. He accurately doubted in 1868 that a job in philosophy would even be "attainable at all" to someone with scientific rather than religious training. In his private writings and in Metaphysical Club discussions, the budding philosopher speculated about the character and implications of scientific work and its potential connection to broader questions. James's persistent speculations for personal direction and in response to primal curiosities gave a religious quality to his philosophy, even as his first vocational commitment would lend a scientific dimension to his religious studies. These combinations have supported his widespread reputation at best for compromising and at worst for ambivalence and indecision. Much impatience with James



Young William James Thinking.

"William James, c. 1869," photo by J. B. Hawes, William James papers, bMS Am 1092.9 (1185). Courtesy of Bay James and the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Young William James experienced a range of troubles. Yet even when he was discouraged, as reported by a friend who had first met him in the late 1860s, "[h]e was the *cleanest*-looking chap!" (LWJ, 1:26). And even his difficulties often became resources with "subtleties" that he would examine, often "with pen in hand" (PU, 84), as he later reported, in writing his frequent letters, notebook entries, and book reviews—and also with books in hand, as this photo from about 1869 shows. Even with the faraway look in his eyes, he could not imagine how long it would take to come of age. His young adulthood was a time of both personal crises and intellectual and cultural explorations.

assumes a dualist question: Did he favor science or religion? In 1878 he addressed that very concern when seeking a Lowell Institute public lectureship by assuring the organizer, "I can safely say that I am neither a materialistic partisan nor a spiritualistic bigot."[14] Indeed. And he never did choose a side or even just try to balance their contrasts. He recognized that science and religion, which respectively contribute discovery of facts and sustaining of hope, manifest in divergent ways, energize many different fields, and have been used to support diverse values; and yet he detected that these distinct enterprises make common attempts to identify the elusive qualities of nature and offer guidance through lived experience.

As James noticed in his own experience and in theory, science and religion ask similar types of questions about the identity and character of the world and humanity, even as they generally provide different answers—answers that, at different times, for different people, and with selection of different parts of the complexities, gravitate toward or away from each other. William James grew up with an early form of spirituality from his father, but he would come to doubt the elder James's absolutist confidence and instead rely more deeply on science, absorbing its naturalism but also questioning its own claims to certainty. This comfort with uncertainty appears biographically by the end of his young adulthood when he finally felt ready to accept life "without any *guarantee*," and it would become a central feature of later theories in his commitment to genuine novelty. This orientation shows the importance of mystery for James, with kinship both to ancient apophatic traditions, in their emphasis on silence and committed action without waiting for certainty because so many topics remain steadily beyond human understanding, and to Charles Peirce's argument for the operation of chance that he called the tychistic character of the world. James generalized on his commitment to uncertainty and mystery by maintaining that "novelty . . . leaks in[to] experience, . . . with continuous infiltration of otherness." This orientation shaped his approach to affirming "the validity of possibility" in the many fields he experienced and studied.[15] And this openness to otherness spilled beyond his philosophizing into his social thought.

James's intellectual openness to uncertainties and his inquisitiveness also drove him to support those out of power. This included an impulse to "succor the underdog" that drew him to value people most others dismissed as eccentrics, and it would also make him a resource for promotion of gender and racial inclusion, even beyond the social steps he himself took. In his own time, James pushed publicly for positions more progressive on race

than he was witnessing around him, with his agitation against lynching, against anti-Semitism in the Dreyfus affair, and against American domination of the Philippines. Yet he harbored many mainstream racial assumptions, including patronizing views of nonwhites and stereotyped perceptions of Jews; on initial encounter, he could speak with a bluntness typical of the time, especially when his "organ of perception-of-national-differences" was in a "super-excited state." These comments, crude by twenty-first-century standards, were not instead of his respect and curiosity but a step in expressing them. In the language of later years, his multiculturalism endorsed difference; or, to use his term from the end of his life, he urged embrace of "pluralism." His curiosity would draw him in, with pluralism as his theory for "perception-of-[intellectual]-differences," and then he invariably found impressive qualities in the heart of otherness—and then he referred to those qualities with casual directness. More simply, he firmly believed what he blurted out in 1867, "Men differ, thank Heaven." Witness his comfortable and even enthusiastic relations with his African American student W. E. B. Du Bois, who remembered, "I was repeatedly a guest in the home of William James; he was my friend and guide to clear thinking." For all his progressive impulses, James maintained views of race soaked in the culture—and the language—of his time. In one of his first essays, James relays a story of a missionary in Africa eager to "dissuade the savage from his fetichistic [*sic*]" healing practices; to this, James presents the "savage" responding coyly, "[I]t is just the same with [Western] doctors; you give your remedies, and sometimes the patient gets well and sometimes he dies." James did not balk at the patronizing language; and yet, even after earning his mainstream medical degree, he welcomed the African's approach to healing in support of his own medical pluralism. In addition, he supported the African's "proverbial philosophy" as "no . . . perverse act of thought"; such thoughts may be incomplete, but so too are even the most sophisticated and scientific propositions.[16]

Even though James blurted out his enthusiasm that "[m]en differ," he acted with ambivalence about whether such pluralistic recognition could include women. He was torn between his acceptance of separate spheres from his upbringing through his own marriage and his avid impulses for pluralism and reform. So, while he felt a "*presumption from use* against" women's equality, he welcomed women's achievements and even anticipated elements of difference feminism in his observations that women "seize on particulars," which coincided with his commitment to concrete facts for puncturing the pretentions of abstract absolutes. James's mixed

record on the cultural diversity of his time has inspired a similarly mixed reading of his legacy for support of identity politics in own our time. Some evaluations of James critique his limited actions against social and institutional barriers to racial and gender equality in his own time, including in his own everyday life; but others praise him for his recognition of the way social contexts shape knowledge, a first step in challenging social hierarchies, and for his own contributions with progressive defiance of intellectually conventional and absolutist norms. James at once lived the prejudices of his time and announced theories that promote equity. And more: he did not just tolerate difference but lauded its potential to shake up convention with innovative insight; he even named his alternative interests "feminine-mystical" in contrast with his own "scientific-academic" training. His supporters provide, in effect, a James upgraded for contemporary culture, a cultural theory James, a James 2.0. The use of his thought and life as resources for healing assumptions of racial and gender hierarchy carries forward his own ambivalence from tension between his contexts and his eagerness for change. James's readiness to see both sides and his ambivalence show that his relational thinking, when applied to social issues, prompted him not only to pay attention to contrasting views but also to see the shortcomings of each—and so, ultimately, their need for each other. This shows the depths of his readiness to live without guarantee, and it also indicates that his uncertainties, enlisted as resources for working toward future improvements, could include a wide swath of perspectives, even while steering him away from quick fixes. Instead, this posture, which he would call "meliorism," would promote gradual efforts toward improvement. What his perspective lacks for action on immediate change, it gains in inclusiveness of different points of view.[17]

James first embraced novelties when he encountered deep dimensions of human consciousness during his educational development. Most religious believers, especially those hewing to traditions about divine depths, avoided psychological depths, and pioneers in the science of mind maintained a naturalistic focus with little attention to religion; however, in subconscious realms of mind, in these profound human experiences, which he understood as windows to nature, James found both spiritual and empirical significance. From these perspectives, he took the task of mediation in science and religion beyond compromise and tolerance, although he supported such enterprises for their encouragement of communication and openness to divergent commitments. Such moderate steps, however, did not touch on

the depths of potential connection he perceived to lurk within scientific and religious enterprises and related fields. In our own time, despite more than a generation of studies repudiating the supposed warfare of science and religion, widespread assumptions persist that these fields are irreconcilably in conflict, or that they require thorough reconciliation—positions that do not challenge the assumption of their fundamental differences.[18] James's biography and theories suggest another way.

James did not set immaterial (or apparently immaterial) elements in psychology, philosophy, and spirituality against empiricism or scientific inquiry and their profound social impacts, in subordination to them, or even alongside them. Instead, he thought of them operating *through* these worldly paths, ideas that in his maturity would be called panpsychic theories of mind in body, suggesting panentheist theories of spirituality within nature, and ideas that in later years would establish him as a precursor to nondualist theories of embodied mind and somaesthetics. In his own scientific research and with his spiritual sensibilities developed in relation to his father and his own avocational interests, James detected the significance of immaterial elements of life embedded within the material world, before he developed formal theoretical labels for these ideas. Human hopes, volitions, motivations, ideals, thoughts, assumptions, faith, beliefs, convictions, feelings, personal energy, and the spark of life itself seem unempirical and may very well connect to abstract dimensions or even another world, but in our experience of them, he maintained, these are fully part of nature. With this orientation, James adapts his father's view of "inward being," which gives the "spiritual lift" to humans in their "spiritual existence" within their "natural existence." This view of spiritual or psychological dynamism circulating in natural matter both follows in the wake of Baruch Spinoza's and Swedenborg's references to "conatus," the living "endeavor" from the "interiors of the mind" striving for power and meaning, and anticipates what a contemporary neuroscientist has called the "life process." Antonio Damasio defines conatus in scientific terms as "the aggregate of dispositions laid down by brain circuitry that, once engaged by internal and environmental conditions, seeks both survival and well-being"; he treats conatus as an old term for modern research projects on the "mystery" of "conscious minds working" within "aggregates called tissues." From his youth, William James likewise maintained that the sciences are essential tools for understanding the character and natural operations of these vivid but often intangible parts of human life—even if scientific investigations are not themselves capable of

final answers. His commitment to the intertwining of material and immaterial factors would appear throughout his work in his insistence on the simultaneous physiology and feelings of emotion, his study of humanity's embodied will, his scrutiny of human nature within evaluation of religion, his analysis of simultaneous objectivity and subjectivity in "pure experience" so often separated for various "temporary purposes," and his pragmatic recognition of the human "hankering for the good things" of both empirical and rational thinking.[19] The disarming frankness of his reports from experience has been a key to his ability to gain acceptance, and even popularity, despite his unorthodox mingling of science and religion, and other realms that conventionally remain far apart.

Much attention to James has grown from the sheer variety of his work, which has prompted investigators from different fields to evaluate him using the tools of many disciplines. He is a significant figure in many branches of philosophy, intellectual and cultural history, history of science, psychology, neuroscience, depth psychology intersecting with spirituality, religious studies, rhetoric, and even cultural studies and literature. He was a protean figure working before many of these disciplines had formed, often pointing in the directions that they would take—and even toward paths not yet taken. Commentaries on James from the disciplines of his contributions have been abundant and rich, but they generally have had little contact with each other. Aspects of James covered by different disciplines have led to puzzlement or selective disregard—just as his psychology of attention formation would predict—as if his integration of diverse interests was simply a marvel largely beyond explanation. There has been much smiling admiration for James, less as a founding father of particular schools of thought than as an avuncular figure admired by many.[20] This place of honor has ironically undercut the ability to learn from some of his most important and helpful insights; it effectively lets each field adopt its piece of James without attention to the rest.

The interdisciplinary work of Miles Orvell provides a helpful metaphor for steering through different approaches: perspectives focusing on parts, each important, can remain vertical views, "in isolation," until attending to their connections horizontally, as "parts of a larger whole." Interpretations reflect their times; today, interpretation includes the power of specialized discourse. Many of these deep yet selective treatments arrive at James from the lens of their own disciplines and even echo the perceived warfare of science and religion. For example, some commentators examine his philosoph-

ical naturalism or his anticipation of other particular topics in philosophy or psychology but find his religious interests, much less his psychical research or study of sectarian medicine and depth consciousness, peculiar or eccentric distractions. By contrast, religious studies commentators discern his readiness to support belief and diverse religious experiences but pay little attention to his scientific training and commitments. The disciplinary affiliations of the interpreters add weight to the differences, and their academic separation keeps each domain distinct, because of the tendency within professions, as James himself predicted, for "institutionalizing on a large scale to run into technicality."[21] Modern scholarship encourages each point of view, emerging from its respective discipline, to be presented as *the* crucial element for understanding James, even though he himself did not think in these terms. Despite these limitations, the specialized work of the past few decades has also produced more understanding than we have ever known before. The more "horizontal" approach of this book, connecting phases of James's life and his different fields of study, especially as his commitments were coming into formation, can show the relations of previous interpretations—and the relations among his intellectual projects—with potential to complement and build on them.

This work of developmental biography pursues James's experiences through youthful texts and contexts to illuminate his intentions and directions on paths toward his mature theories. This method displays a surface resemblance to the work of Erik Erikson; rather than focus on mature work, the end points of a subject's career, he proposed "originology, . . . which reduces every human to an analogy with an earlier one, and most of all to that earliest, simplest, and most infantile precursor which is assumed to be its 'origin.'" The result is examination of mature work, Erikson explains, in terms of the "infantile in the adult," with the proposition that these later creations result from "preservation of those earlier energies," adapted to adult language and work settings. For example, Martin Luther's personal tensions "in the period between puberty and adulthood" generated his personal changes that would lead to his revolutionary impact in the European Christian Reformation; "with this new person," Erikson summarizes, "a new generation, and with that, a new era." Similarly, this book connects the young and mature James to show relations between the less refined expressions of early thought and his more famous theorizing. However, in developmental biography, the vector is reversed: while Erikson explains later insights in terms of earlier identity, the method of this work is future oriented. Rather than emphasize

youthful issues lingering in mature work, this book depicts themes of growing importance—inchoate, still groping—beginning with his early explorations. The mingling here of biography and theory employs "culminology" for attention to the role of culminating theories in earlier work rather than the role of original psychological conditions persisting in later thought. This method also avoids another privileging of origins, the impulse to detect later theories already present in early thought. Instead, developmental biography offers assessment of direction emerging from choices made at each juncture, with no prior plan or guaranteed future; like adaptive purposes, personal and intellectual developments address the needs and hopes of each moment, with the later emergence only one possibility among others. The method of developmental biography coincides with James's own philosophical orientation, already articulated in the 1870s in his theory of mind as "an essentially teleological mechanism." With theories functioning "for the sake of ends" in each immediate setting," this outlook avoids the idealistic or religious teleology of prior perfect plans manifesting within the mundane world in favor of teleological purpose gradually taking shape, in Darwinian terms, with direction emerging from choices made at each juncture—or, as he put it in his youth, choices made without guarantee for any long-term future.[22]

The method of developmental biography also reflects the growth of attention to the relation of body and mind, literally, in evaluation of biography and theory, for an account of a philosopher in formation. Previous evaluation of James's youth has put less emphasis on his intellectual life than on his personal issues; he did indeed have plenty of troubles that readily command attention. And studies of the mature James have tended to treat his early life as merely personal, with little theoretical significance. The conventional wisdom about James in his youth includes a picture of a young man weathering so many problems that his early life seems unconnected to the energetic work of the mature intellectual. That gulf between youth and maturity constitutes a puzzle addressed in this book through a combination of biographical storytelling and theoretical evaluation. James the mature psychologist himself explained that "by the age of thirty" character and thought have "set like plaster, and will never soften again." Inquiry here into what he was learning through his mid-thirties shows the thinking that set his own directions toward his mature commitments and theories. This work on James's early intellectual development resembles what Thomas Sönderqvist calls an "existential project," with the life story presenting an

"embodied mind," suggesting "the possibilities for action offered by a particular set of contexts," and with attention to the mature culminations of ideas first emerging in his early development.[23] *Young William James Thinking* offers a case study into the roots of accomplished adulthood in youthful development, with a portrait of a life lived while theory thought: these chapters offer an opportunity to examine James before the familiar James, with that James as a possibility, still in formation and full of live and difficult choices.

Before James's contributions to different disciplines, he had not yet made contributions to any field. His thinking was still an undifferentiated mass—a disciplinary version of what he would call "pure experience," not yet conceptually parsed out into psychology, philosophy, religious thought, social commentary, and other fields—sometimes even laced with forlorn worry that he would not ever actually find any vocational direction at all. The perspective from young James's own point of view can reap rewards for understanding James's mature theories because in their roots his ideas readily display interconnections that would not be as apparent in their vivid branches. Young adulthood is a moratorium period in anyone's life, and James is famous for taking longer in that phase of life than most; he was indeed a late bloomer, and his early sprouts are related to and can help explain his later blooms. The connections presented in this developmental biography suggest possibilities for further research from looking at the many parts of his life in relation: his private and public writing, his little-known texts and canonical works, his alternative and professional commitments, his roles as seeker and as scientist, and his affiliations with other psychologists, philosophers, and religious thinkers, along with his legacy in a range of fields into our own time; and there are surely more insights to be gleaned from the main terrain of this book integrating biography and theory, pointing to the relation of youth and maturity, and his integrations of science and religion, and of material and immaterial realms of life.[24] A bass note of these pages is not only that the many Jameses vividly illustrate his pluralism—and the power of his discourse to reach different audiences—but also that his own pluralistic parts are interrelated once understood in the contexts of his development, with stories serving as theories in formation, and theories manifesting as the morals of the stories.

James's influential theories took time to mature before he was a figure of influence, which further underscores the significance of his extended period of young adulthood. Each chapter of this book exhibits the long reach of his

education in science and religion, with his reflections on material and immaterial ingredients of natural life. In addition, the chapters show his array of interests on his own model of the active mind spontaneously pursuing its interests, which he would soon describe as key ingredients of consciousness. The range of ideas covered, each exhibiting James wrestling with material and immaterial dimensions of experience, emerges directly from his own interests.

A chronological approach would allow for more orderly reporting of life events in sequence (see the chronology), but the thematic focus here puts stories in the service of theoretical illumination. This thematic approach has allowed for more thorough attention to his engagement with particular theories as he lived through them, and it offers more depth of contextualization. The sharp focus in this book on particulars year by year, and even sometimes month by month, shows James with no clear or certain line of development toward the later figure we know better. Instead, he jolted in different directions, sometimes in apparent repetition while he worked out subtleties of thought, and with hesitations along with deliberate goals, as his mature outlooks only gradually emerged. In place of stories removed from his theoretical development or familiar theories emerging with artificial speed because delivered without attention to his contexts while thinking, readers will find here fulsome descriptions of his theories in formation and in their contexts, as this philosopher famous for theories of free choice made his own choices. The thematic chapters show his keen immersion in each of these topics: his science education, his understanding of medicine, his fascination with the ancients, and his own personal troubles.

The James of chapter 1 first encountered professional science with his work in laboratories, his study of cutting-edge texts, his natural history exploring, and his circulation with the philosophical assumptions of authoritative advocates for the influence of science. While sharing widespread enthusiastic expectations that science could explain ever-more workings of the world, he responded with an alternative vision for the future of science, one with a thorough commitment to natural facts, but also with a humanist's humility about the limits of scientific ability ever to understand nature completely. Chapter 2 shows James studying scientific medicine while he also supported alternative sectarian practices and even used them to manage his own health. With this diverse background, he gained a thorough knowledge of human physiology and of its actions during mental operations, and he also gained an appreciation for the potential interaction of

body and mind. This set him on a path toward continued advocacy of pluralism in general, and of other theories enlisting material and immaterial ingredients in relation. Chapter 3 finds James escaping from his scientific studies into the art and philosophy of the ancient world, with special interest in Greek worldviews and in Stoic philosophy before the dominance of monotheism. He found in the ancients' serene acceptance of nature's ways, and their artful coping with perennial human dilemmas, an elegant complement to the comforts of the Christian message of salvation beyond this world. As chapter 4 shows, by the late 1860s James suffered from tensions that grew from familial and societal expectations, vocational indecision, frequent ill health, awkwardness with women, clouds of depression, and uncertainty about his philosophical commitments, including the respective appeals of scientific and religious ways of looking at the world. However, just as sectarian medicine welcomed crises as stages toward healing, James during his troubled times continued his avid learning; his problems became opportunities for growth, with seeds set for later theoretical insights. Coping with the intertwining complexities of his problems constituted an interdisciplinary education, even as his memories of troubles provided a well of sympathy for his later audiences. Taken by chapter, this is a book about James's engagement with distinct themes that concerned him most as a young man; taken together, his engagement with these topics point to a budding philosopher embarking on the first steps toward his lifelong commitment to capture concreteness, conciliate differences, and find the relation of immaterial and material dimensions of life.

The stories here present a chance to meet James again for the first time. Just as these chapters focus on James's early experiences and his search for reconciliation of contrasts, so the later chapters of his life would continue such mediation with variations on his ongoing commitment to science and to spirituality. In each of his theoretical inquiries, he recognized different sides of debate generally showing commitment to material or immaterial parts of life, he evaluated their tangible purposes and contributions, and he emerged with an alternative that integrated their respective contributions. The ambivalence of his youth, and his difficulty in making choices, stayed with him through his last years when he found it difficult even to decide whether to retire or not. From the fall of 1905, he declared "Resign" over a dozen times in his diary, often with multiple exclamation points; even on a day when teaching went well, after which he proudly recorded, "gave good lecture," he added, "but must resign! Resign." Then on other days, he wrote

the key word of his difficult choice but crossed it out, adding "Don't Resign!" This ambivalence would continue for two years, when he finally retired from teaching to become professor of philosophy, emeritus, in 1907. The type of indecision he had already experienced in his early years was a direct result of keen awareness of relations; and those impulses would become, as he had noticed by the end of his youth, the "philosophic . . . habit of always seeing an alternative." Those early burdens became preparation for his mature achievement of conciliations, with deep appreciation of the merits within far-flung propositions. James was indeed a "great philosopher of the cusp," in Charles Taylor's elegant phrase expressing the conventional wisdom about James; to Taylor, these traits mean compromising built on such "wide sympathy" that he remained "open" and therefore uncommitted to any particular position.[25] A close look at his youth shows James refining the burdens of his indecisions in his development of a decisive ambivalence, a decisiveness within his ambivalence, in the creation of perspectives boldly integrating contrasts.

Approaching William James's theories through his biographical development can display both the halting steps in their formation and the depths of his commitment to avoiding abstract theoretical categories or one-sided choices. With his decisive ambivalence, each different orientation would serve as a potentially useful expression of intellectual, temperamental, or cultural impulses deeply grounded within the representatives of humanity supporting that position, even as he also recognized limits within each position. His theories have roots in his life, and his life has roots in his youth, when he had not yet separated his interests and insights into various publications distributed to different fields; also, his example and his thought can in turn address ongoing cultural and intellectual issues since his time. All these paths begin with his own stories, in context and in development when young James was making his own life choices without knowing any of this future impact.

First Embrace of Science

> Few will deny that a current seems setting from every quarter of Science, . . . which may be briefly described as declaring the Self-Competency of Nature. . . . Grant that the [the scientific view of nature] . . . is but a partial synthesis,—grant that at present it turns its back upon the Supernatural,—may it not nevertheless serve an excellent purpose, and in the end . . . prove to be a necessary step in the way to a larger purer view of the Supernatural?
>
> William James, 1865

William James did not fight in the American Civil War. At the firing of the first shots in April 1861, he was nineteen years old, prime age for enlistment, but through four brutal years, he never got directly involved in the war. He showed some inclinations to sign up for military service or to work in the South with freed African American slaves, but he never took action on those impulses. In the early 1860s, he was already showing the ambivalence that he would carry for the rest of his life, but he had not yet figured out how to deal with this central temperamental trait. His intellectual curiosity and sense of responsibility amplified the burdens at moments of indecision. In 1863, while watching a dress parade of troops ready to ship South for combat, he felt so "gnawed by questions as to my own duty of enlisting or not" that he simply "shrank back . . . from being recognized."[1] *That type of indecision would hamper his choices for another decade.*

James's tendencies to see the significance of different positions met their first adult test in the early 1860s when his attention was pulled to deep consideration of many issues that gnawed at him: the raging war and his own education, the call of patriotism and of moral purpose, the appeal of art and of science, and his interest in psychology and the lack of jobs in that vocation. In 1860–61, James was still living at home, studying painting at the studio of William Morris Hunt in Newport, Rhode Island, and his father, Henry James, Senior, was

the most decisive force in his life. The spiritual and social commentator who circulated with Transcendentalists and reformers was an exuberant influence on William, in the whole James family, and in public discussion about the purpose of the war.

The war began as a political contest over union, and the elder James wanted no part of fighting over political lines on a map. He spoke out publicly, including on the Fourth of July 1861, no less, against a government that remained "in danger of bringing back slavery again under our banner: than which consummation I would rather see chaos itself come again." He joined the small but growing Northern chorus who believed that slavery was a "poison" that corroded the American "struggling nascent . . . hope" for a more egalitarian society, even as he also agreed with a majority of Northerners with racial prejudice in assuming that the "sensuous imagination predominates" in African Americans. With the government setting war aims that carefully avoided even hints of challenging chattel slavery, Henry James declared that this government and this conflict are simply not "worth an honest human life." In this stance, he also spoke for the outrage that many Northerners felt in reaction to U.S. government moves toward conscription with the Militia Act in July 1862 and the Enrollment Act in March 1863, which, against avid resistance, took the first steps away from the American tradition of voluntary militia service toward an involuntary draft. Henry James added a religious dimension to that widespread position with his insistence on the "inalienable sanctity and freedom of the subject as against the nation." At the beginning of the war, even when his children got caught up in enthusiasm for enlistment, the elder Henry James took his stand against the war, declaring "I won't let them go."[2]

The elder James stood by his principles in declaring that this war could be justified only if its purpose would include the ending of slavery. Otherwise, he proclaimed with characteristic fervor, the nation would "decline into all infernality and uncleanness," from the "slimy purulent ooze" of slavery continuing and spreading.[3] *He could not know how much his lurid abstractions would come close to describing the gruesome battlefields and field hospitals as the conflict grew in scale and fervor on both sides. By the second year of war, the enormous carnage, combined with the limited success of the Union armies, drove enlistments down. This prodded the government not only to turn toward conscription but also to contemplate taking a stand against slavery.*

A declaration against chattel bondage would not only infuse the war with higher purpose but would also turn the conflict into a total war directed against a centerpiece of the Southern society and economy. This was an urgent politi-

cal issue that impacted military goals; Union general George B. McClellan did not support abolition of slavery, and that coincided with his less aggressive tactics in war. During the Seven Days Battles, while President Abraham Lincoln urged aggressive attack, McClellan showed persistent caution. When Northern troops came close to capturing the Southern capital, Richmond, William James joined the supporters of Lincoln; "Geo B hardly gave an order," and, he added with worry, this could "have ruined us." Escalating the destruction of the South would make the war still more intense, with white Southerners moved to stiffen their righteous and defensive reaction to Northern aggression. President Lincoln resolved to take this fateful step in the summer of 1862 but decided to wait for some battlefield success with hopes to present his pronouncement as part of momentum toward victory. The brutal battle of Antietam on September 17, when Union troops halted the Confederate army's invasion north, provided the occasion. Lincoln announced his Emancipation Proclamation on September 22. During this season when the war aims were shifting, William's younger brother Wilkinson James enlisted in the Union army; his father appreciated that he was joining a state militia, not getting drafted in the federal army. With sentiments against the "vile sin of Negro slavery" even stronger than his father's, Wilkie James volunteered in an African American regiment no less, as did the youngest James brother Robertson. Although the U.S. military still showed the prevalent patronizing assumption that African Americans needed to be "properly led," the service of white officers called for an extra measure of courage because the Confederate Congress considered these Union leaders to be "inciting servile insurrection" and therefore declared that "if captured, [they shall] be put to death." Undaunted, Lieutenant Wilkinson James defiantly declared that "every Negro ought to be armed"; he served proudly with his troops who "fought as well as we did" in the Massachusetts 54th Regiment, commanded by Colonel Robert Gould Shaw. On July 18, 1863, they approached Charleston, near Fort Sumter, where the war had begun, and stormed Fort Wagner, the "bastion of this rebel hell."[4] Wilkie James suffered near fatal wounds to his side and his foot, while so many of his comrades died around him.

Back at the James family home, family and friends surrounded Wilkie with admiring love and support; Louisa May Alcott knitted him an afghan and wrote him a poem, which concluded with the words "For he who dares has earned his rest." William drew an admiring sketch of the warrior at rest. In six months, even though he still walked with a limp, he had recovered enough to rejoin his regiment. In 1865, when Wilkie revisited the site of the fateful battle, some newspaper reporters wrote sentimentalized stories about the wounded

FORT SUMTER IN UNION HANDS!!!

LET THE EAGLE SCREAM!!!!

I reached the same p[illegible] myself. I saw a young officer, looking musingly and long toward Morris Island—sitting there, the old flag floating over his head, apparently unconscious of everything around him. He walked away at last—rather haltingly, for he was lame and wounded—still gazing toward Wagner. It was Lieut. James, (a son of the distinguished author,) who was wounded in that celebrated assault on Fort Wagner in which Shaw lost his life and gained his immortality. He is on Gen. Gillmore's staff now, his wound having unfitted him for active service in the field.

Our flag was hoisted at Fort Sumter on Saturday last, by Capt. Bragg, a young officer of Gen. Gillmore's Long may it wave there!

gallant action.

Capt. James of the Massachusetts 54th, who is now Aid to Gen. Gillmore, was of the party. He was wounded in the assault on Wagner. He gazed at the ruins with satisfaction and pleasure, not unmixed with melancholy, for yonder, beneath the sands of Moris island, his beloved commander was lying—his colonel, his general, his brother officer, fellow-soldier. It is a pity that he was not there on Saturday to raise the flag upon the work; but he was on duty elsewhere.

hero. Wilkie arrived right after "our flag was hoisted at Fort Sumter," and he "gazed at the ruins with satisfaction and pleasure, not unmixed with melancholy." William James spoofed his brother in a sketch in which he echoed his father's sentiments about patriotism and war. Henry James, Senior, supported a war now directed against slavery, but he still decried "that unscrupulous rubbish . . . spread-eagleism," with its ready acceptance of destruction crushing the great "democratic spirit" of the United States. But the unhealthy products of total war were more popular than high-toned political ideals. William drew a "theatrical" picture of his brother earnestly holding up a bloody foot, with a spread eagle in the background and the caption, "Fort Sumter in Union hands!!! Let the eagle scream!!!!" In this same season, William elaborated on his views, in raising concern privately that the way the war was being fought, with shrill patriotism drowning out higher purpose, the founding principles of this "model Republic" would become endangered. Wilkie treasured the sketch, placing it next to cutouts of newspaper accounts, as two expressions of the "cause . . . for the defense of the country's life." The indecisive young James can be blamed for making light of his brother's bravery or for not taking more bold actions during the war with his fledgling convictions, but those ambivalent sentiments would grow into his mature statements on war. At a tribute to

---

Screaming Eagle Patriotism and Abolitionist Ideals.

"Garth Wilkinson James's return to Charleston Harbor," William James papers, bMS Am 1092.2 (63). Courtesy of Bay James and the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

William James agreed with his brother's abolitionist sentiments and admired his bravery in battle. Captain Wilkie James was second in command to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw of the "Negro Regiment," the Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth, which fought courageously at Fort Wagner, SC, at the southern approach to Charleston Harbor, July 1863. Even with the bravery of these white officers (if captured by the Confederates, they would be put immediately to death for violating the South's racial code), the Northerners would not countenance African Americans as commanders, even of their fellow troops. Through this political and military drama, William grew impatient with brutal "screaming eagle" patriotism that the war ignited and that some newspaper reporters tapped in focusing on the hoisting of the flag without reference to the moral transformation in race relation. William exaggerated on his mixed feeling with a theatrical display of Wilkie's return to the captured territory in 1865. Wilkie treasured his brother's spoofing sketch and kept it with the original news clippings.

Colonel Shaw himself in 1897, he was invited to give a speech in which he reflected on "the very soul and secret of those awful years." If the war spirit bloomed unchecked, he declared, drowning out the need for "civic courage" to temper shrill patriotism and channel the human impulse for aggression into more constructive directions, this nation and any nation would repeatedly sow the "fatal seeds of future war."[5] The seeds of his own convictions, first sprouting during the Civil War, but hampered by ambivalence, would take shape while he made commitments far from the battlefields.

William James felt the influence of his father not only in his fledgling convictions about war but also in his next vocational steps. In the fall of 1861, he took up the study of science with a keen hope for vocation spurred by his father's eagerness to find scientific ways to improve human society—including perhaps helping to prevent such future disasters. Henry James, Senior, had already raised expectations that study of science would add persuasive authority to the spiritual messages he so fervently believed. And a centerpiece of his spiritual commitment was his belief that scientific inquiry would bring a better ordering of society, with political leaders stepping aside to "leave the coast clear to scientific men," as he said right on the eve of the war and just before William began studying science at Harvard's Lawrence Scientific School. The elder James's hope soared with ardent convictions that science could be a way to rid society of its problems. He called the American founding a "great providential stride in human affairs," and its promise would be fulfilled by careful application of science—especially as guided by his spiritual convictions. Although he would remain skeptical that brutal war could achieve such ideals, once the war began he identified the potential for political attack on slavery as "the scientific promise of our polity."[6] These philanthropic hopes and fervent beliefs about the social and spiritual significance of science were the first pictures of the systematic study of nature that William took with him as he started his formal education in science in the fall of 1861, even though at the Lawrence School he would encounter new ways of thinking about science and religion that would challenge his family faith.

In the 1860s William James took his first major step away from his father's faith, propelled, ironically, by his father's own hopes for a "scientific career for Willy." He turned from the drums of war not only because of his doubts that these brutal means could achieve higher goals that could reach beyond shrill blood lust but also because of his eagerness to study science. He craved a vocation with purpose and effectiveness. His father's vigorous

declarations for science stoked his commitment, which in turn increased his ambivalence about his painting talents. What he would soon say about philosophy, he was already earnestly feeling about science; in 1875 he declared that "philosophers had best . . . stak[e] their persons . . . on the truth of their position." Possessing a version of his father's idealism with "feelings of philanthropy" about science, young James took up its study as his immediate and passionate vocation, and the simultaneous reality of war around him lent his work in science a still more amplified sense of purpose. With science, he aimed to "do as much good" as he could. "How much that is, God only knows. I pray . . . I may do something." Perhaps science, with its promise of great knowledge, practical solutions, and even—according to his father—spiritual insight could provide paths out of conflict. Young William James felt indecision about the choices around him, including about the application of any ideals to a working vocation in a world so torn and in distress.[7] In 1861 the war began, and Abraham Lincoln called for troops. William James, religiously imbued, philosophically curious, vocationally uncertain, personally ambivalent, but morally driven to do some good, enlisted in the cause of science.

Science and Religion: Varieties of Cosmic Orientations

When William James started on his career path in the 1860s, he was also witnessing a cultural and intellectual shift in the whole Western world toward more uncertainty in the methods and assumptions of science and religion. Biblical criticism challenged long-accepted certainties in religion, and Darwinism further spurred this evolution toward intellectual uncertainties with its probabilistic methods, conceptions of immense and elusive stretches of time, and portraits of nature in constant change. The biological theory of species development was one of several scientific theories from the late nineteenth century that turned away from widespread earlier deterministic thinking, pointing to uncertainties at the heart of science. Despite these intellectual uncertainties, science maintained a sturdy public confidence among its practitioners and supporters as it gained social authority from institutions and ideas that endorsed its growth and power.[8] The very decline of conceptual certainty within science actually contributed to social confidence in its certainties, with the methods of science presented as ways to cope and find direction in an uncertain world.

In James's time, science was widely associated with empiricism, the philosophy that our knowledge grows from what enters our mind through the

senses; science and empiricism were both authoritative and contested, with alternative medical practitioners, popularly called "mere empirics," making claims to experiential facts supporting their therapies, until the increasingly specialized work of mainstream laboratory science became widely associated with exclusive claim to authoritative empiricism and science. The increasing confidence and success of science reinforced the philosophical tradition of naturalism, which in the ancient world had been primarily an orientation with reference to the All, the eternal and mysterious character of the world as a whole, while with some ancients, and more thoroughly in recent centuries, naturalism became sharply associated with a secular view of natural facts explaining things in nature without reference to anything beyond the natural world. Especially since the nineteenth century, scientific naturalism has exhibited trust in science, use of empiricism, and leanings toward materialism, in degrees; methodological materialists describe the scientific work done only on material things, whereas metaphysical materialists make philosophical claims that material ingredients alone can explain the world, with all other experiences reduced to these material facts. These trends in science further undercut the authority of Western religion. As naturalistic explanations gained more influence, the authority of supernatural realms looked weak by comparison. In particular, religion experienced challenges to its traditional verities about the structure and moral direction of the cosmos, humanity's place in nature, and the authenticity of the deity and of sacred texts. And yet, such secular challenges did not beat religion into submission (despite the inaccurate predictions of some enthusiasts for science) in the United States and much of the world, where church attendance and belief have endured strongly since the nineteenth century with a wide array of beliefs.

James's own teacher Louis Agassiz helped to set the tone for advocates of religious certainty, in his own time and ever since. Agassiz was a great scientific investigator and teacher, but he could not abide the Darwinian turn; the same was true for most advocates of natural theology, who looked to science for empirical evidence supporting religious belief. For all their differences, the idealistic Agassiz and the followers of natural theology maintained an earlier type of science with fewer hypotheses, fewer probabilities, much shorter spans of earth history, and therefore much more certainty—in understanding of science and in support of religious belief. While many nineteenth-century Evangelical Protestant Christians accommodated to Darwinism, still more developed increasing antagonism for main-

stream science and kindred secularities that defied biblical certainties, and the most stringent of these believers consolidated into early twentieth-century fundamentalism. Despite the irony of their antimodernism emerging in modern times, the very extremity of their position has contributed to the attention they attract. Current theories of creation science and intelligent design have drawn upon similar expectations for scientific and empirical sanctions for belief to support the case for biblical authority holding the line against less deterministic modern scientific theories and methods. Other traditional Western religions have perceived less challenge from modern science: Roman Catholicism has for the most part integrated scientific innovation into its understanding of unfolding revelation comprehended by human reason within history, and Judaism has generally embraced theistic evolutionism, with science as a way to learn about divine creation.[9]

Advocates of scientific certainty, from the scientific naturalists of James's time to current enthusiasts for secular science such as Richard Dawkins, hold similarly ardent views about the contrast between science and religion, even in their utter disagreement with advocates of religious certainty. Some supporters of science, however, have seen no need to leave religion aside, as long as the contrasts between science and religion can serve as lessons in themselves for keeping their ideas and beliefs strictly separate. In James's circle, Harvard botanist Asa Gray, a committed Presbyterian Christian who avidly promoted Darwinism, was part of a sturdy tradition of keeping the realms in splendid isolation, for personal belief and social purposes. Religious belief would then remain as certain as the individual desired or as the church demanded because belief would stay segregated from science, with each blessedly untouched by the other. But curiosities would intrude, along with practical questions about boundaries in practices, policies, and personal orientations.[10]

Since the time of Darwin's and James's youth, abundant integrations of science and religion have also emerged with a readiness to form compromises by enlisting metaphorical readings of sacred texts, recognition of similarities in methods, hope for lessons to be learned across the boundaries, and other forms of mediation generally based on either adaptation of religion to make it relevant to modern knowledge or adoption of scientific knowledge for religious visions of the cosmos. Even these compromises, with religion bending to science or science to religion, would assume a significant gulf between science and religion, while encouraging mediation despite those differences. These efforts for renewed harmony of science and religion

would continue despite their growing separation in practice and the eclipse of their intellectual certainties, and despite the accelerating fragmentation of specialized knowledge in all fields. The hope for unity of knowledge ran deep. Tapping abundant human resources, science and religion since the nineteenth century have each thrived, with relations harmonious or in conflict, integrated or separated.[11] While young James witnessed these predominant forms of interaction between science and religion, and gravitated toward forms of integration, he gradually realized that even this position assumed their stark contrast. To understand their relations, he probed deeper.

The dynamic boundaries between science and religion have suggested large questions about the relation of material and immaterial ingredients of life. The most significant claims of religious believers remain generally beyond empirical facts, with abundant references to immaterial realms, including divinity and afterlife beyond this world, grace-filled or idealistic expectations, mystical experiences beyond scientific explanation, and numinous realms at sacred spaces within this world. In addition, as James readily noticed in his work and avocational interests, intellectual, ethical, artistic, and psychological experiences also seem to operate without explicit reference to material parts of life. Nature viewed comprehensively includes evidence for both material and immaterial ingredients in apparent interaction; however, particular advocates have persistently supported the significance of one side or the other and have often used one side to explain the other. Spiritual philosophies, as with that of the elder Henry James, reduce material to immaterial. By contrast, materialists propose that anything claimed to be beyond matter can be explained by its material components; mechanistic philosophies extend this impulse in portrayal of the material world operating like a machine. These theories assert eliminative authority in opposite directions, an eliminative spiritualism and an eliminative materialism, respectively. While much commonsense thinking turns to dualism with each realm in steady interaction, other dualists claim separation of material and immaterial elements without interaction. As with science and religion, there has been a whole spectrum of views on the relation of material and immaterial parts of the world. Just as James grew impatient with the conflict or separation of science and religion, he also rejected the reduction of material or immaterial ingredients to each other or their stark separation. Starting with the experiences of his youth, he perceived the simultaneous coexistence of material and immaterial ingredients, and he identified explicitly

or tacitly with the integration of philosophy and spirituality within his science: panpsychism, depicting mind within nature; hylozoism, as the belief that all worldly things are alive; pantheism, in portrayal of the divine conflated with the world; and its more interactive variation, panentheism, with the divine circulating in the world—that is, with immanence, the theological term.[12]

James was exposed to this range of perspectives on science and religion and related dualisms, and he was particularly concerned with scientific intellectuals, especially William Clifford, Thomas Huxley, and Herbert Spencer, who showed limited respect for nonmaterial parts of life, using scientific theories to comprehend humanity's intangible experiences by using naturalistic explanations. Positivism, with confidence that science would provide the only positive knowledge, emerged before its twentieth-century association with logical positivism and analytic philosophy. Auguste Comte developed the positive philosophy with naturalistic assumptions and very schematic but compelling stages of history; especially once popularized by John Stuart Mill, positivism became a general worldview and a cultural reference for science claiming intellectual and social authority, in contrast with the less rigorous thinking in philosophy or religion, fields relying on immaterial dimensions. The philosophy of evolution, or evolutionism, also popularized in these same years after the advent of Darwinism, was associated with Herbert Spencer, and with John Fiske within the Metaphysical Club itself; its metaphysical naturalism involved the broad application of the biological theory of species development to almost every field. Like positivism, the philosophy of evolution was based on confidence in science, with nonscientific factors reduced to scientific terms. These orientations offered scientific naturalism both for the work of science and for a public ethos regarding science as the ultimate authority for what could be known about the natural world and, through technology, what can be done with nature. James took issue with scientific naturalism from his first known use of the term *positivism* in 1868 and in his classroom criticisms of philosophies based on evolutionism culminating in his 1878 critique "Spencer's Definition of Mind." As James started to work in science, he was particularly worried that its growing professional expertise would make it "quite inaccessible" to nonexperts, yet "possessed of unlimited control of natural forces," with power to "keep the world in order by mere terror."[13] His fellow scientists did not yet possess these capacities, but they already harbored the rudiments of these powers, with ambitions for more, which James viewed warily.

Even with his concerns about science, James admired it and kept working at it, attracted by the commitment to material facts and empirical methods but also lured by its relationship to immaterial factors, even in the thinking of scientific naturalists. Scientific progress implied uncertainties not yet known, which were greeted either with faith in science for eventually solving those riddles or with recognition that some parts of the world would remain elusive. Clifford readily referred to the "insights still in the course of development," which would displace humanity's "confused and uncertain impressions" with the "certain and immediate . . . intellectual senses" of science. And even though Spencer maintained strong confidence in science, he himself identified "The Unknowable," which despite the "established truths" of science and its methods of "rigorous criticism [by] successive generations," remains "utterly inscrutable." Whether with faith in its future or with recognition of the persistently elusive, scientific naturalism implied a dualism without interaction: scientific work would focus on material ingredients of the world, while immaterial factors would simply accompany the investigations, remaining mostly ignored. James met this noninteractive dualism in the psychophysical parallelism of scientific psychology, whose practitioners largely bracketed mysterious questions of mind or spirit while diligently accumulating knowledge on the empirical side of the proposed duality. Such scientific work itself also actually contributed, however, to interactionist perspectives, with scientific or religious emphases: many scientific psychologists harbored the hope that with enough knowledge, naturalistic inquiry would convert immaterial mysteries into investigative problems to be solved in materialist terms; and even scientific trends that challenged traditional religion supported less institutional, more spiritual perspectives with forms of panpsychism and panentheism, portraying mental or spiritual elements operating within the world.[14]

James readily worked within the dualities of scientific practice, just as he acknowledged the power of religious convictions. He would describe these practices and worldviews with a range of terms: positivism, materialism, scientific naturalism, or even scientificism, in contrast with transcendentalism, religious belief, apriorism, intuitionism, or rationalism. He sometimes even substituted one term for another, highlighting the shared dimensions of the terms on each side. Despite their differences, these orientations all refer to philosophical commitments relying, respectively, on material or on immaterial ingredients, which would manifest in different dimensions of life, including during his early experiences. When James

started his schooling, material and immaterial factors appeared within his inquiries into science and religion and in related fields; while learning the particulars of each field and the character of their commitments, he also sought to understand their relations. The extent of his task contributed to the extended length of his years in educational preparation, with both a lot to learn and still more to evaluate for choice of direction.[15]

Weighing Different Scientific Disciplines

Broad contexts for understanding the relation of science and religion, including a range of choices for thinking about material and immaterial factors in those fields and more, stirred James's imagination during his years of scientific education starting in 1861. This array of choices, and his own scientific training made the particulars of his father's beliefs seem increasingly less plausible, even as he retained a vocational passion that the elder James could appreciate. Yet he still considered ways to reconcile the subjects of his study with religion, including some ideas with ironically distinct similarities to those of his father. He discovered that the most ardent enthusiasts for the authority of naturalistic science held similarly idealistic hopes for the promise of science to understand nature's deepest meanings based on hope rather than immediate empirical evidence, albeit with more secular ideals in mind. The young James would maintain a similar cultural hope for science over the next few decades, starting with his work at Harvard's Lawrence Scientific School and Medical School.

Despite James's eagerness for scientific study, deciding on which field and what approach to adopt would take more than a decade. He spent his twenties moving among many sciences in search of a field for his own work. While his schooling was the major taproot of his education, his simultaneous abundant private learning broadened and deepened his education. With these private inquiries, he reflected on his own personal direction about the meaning and implications of his scientific education, and although he could not know it yet, he also set his mature philosophy in formation. In the cauldron of his private writings, while testing out his personal and intellectual directions, he drafted out preliminary versions of his later published work. By contrast, earlier diary writers, ranging from the worldly William Byrd to the saintly David Brainerd in the eighteenth century, wrote private compositions that remained completely private. By James's time, the emergence of a more robust public sphere and increasing outlets for publication along with increased readership created greater opportunities for private thoughts

to become public. In the second third of the nineteenth century, novelist Louisa May Alcott would "simmer novels" in her journals as a first step toward putting her mind "in order" on the way toward writing for publication; and Ralph Waldo Emerson called his journal writing his "Savings Bank," where he would deposit insights for cultivation into published form. After collecting folk stories of African Americans in the 1920s and 1930s, Zora Neale Hurston used whole phrases from her anthropology field notes within her novels.[16] James's diaries, notebooks, and letters were at once private simmerings and steadily growing deposits, which he would also often use directly in published work.

Comments in letters to his family that he wrote during his first semester at Harvard indicate that he was working hard at his first study of chemistry, even if it was difficult and perhaps not so suited to him as he and his father had hoped. And his comments also reveal his steady interests beyond science. A letter from September 1861 includes some Celtic vernacular slang from British writer James Stephen, whose words he would also quote years later to support his image of the leap of faith at the conclusion of "The Will to Believe." Now he was tapping his own will and strength for a less dramatic task: "This chemical analysis is so bewildering at first that I am entirely 'muddled and bet [beat]' and have to employ most all my time reading up." In his essay, Stephen reminded the apprentice scientist of the august power, for good or ill, of science, which was becoming "a sort of god—a blind, arbitrary, capricious deity." With such prospects still only on the horizon, James settled into the routine work of the semester, and in its last weeks he had most of the term's work still to do, including evaluation of the most basic chemical elements and compounds: "Chemistry comes on tolerably, but not as fast as I expected. I am pretty slow with my substances, having done but twelve since Thanksgiving and having thirty-eight more to do before the end of the term." Still uncertain about his abilities, much less about the future of science, he motivated himself with a simple and deliberate maxim: "Nothing can be done without work."[17]

In the fall of his first semester, James also wrote a long letter to a cousin, hastily ending it because he had to get back to work: "This writing in the middle of the week is an unheard-of license, for I must work, work, work. Relentless Chemistry claims its hapless victim." But there were obstacles; he found the claims of science and scientists increasingly implausible because they conveyed a disturbing tone of arrogant finality. His chemistry teacher, Charles Eliot, contributed to this impression. For example, early in his second

year, when James was suffering from a boil on his elbow, "Eliot with voice of absolute certainty told me to keep painting it with iodine." James was skeptical, but remained respectful in this scientific setting, so "how could I help hopefully painting away." The treatment did nothing to heal the boil but soon made matters worse: "[A]bout three days ago, . . . my arm began to swell voluminously." He allowed that "the iodine seems to prevent the formation of a crater" but concluded with light mockery, "[W]hat else it does, heaven and Eliot alone know."[18] While Eliot and the rest of the Harvard faculty were comfortable with the scientific authority supporting such regular medical practices, James in his family had used a range of alternative therapies, which contributed to his skepticism about Eliot's confident suggestions.

During his second year, James attended the lectures of Joseph Lovering, professor of physics. In September 1862, he recorded the professor's overview of the course: "We shall treat of Acoustics, Electricity, Magnetism, Electro-Mag[netic] Optics & heat from a *mechanical* point of view and shall treat them together as they are all bound by the mechanical notion of undulation."[19] This class exposed him to some basics of the scientific method, along with the assumption of materialist and even mechanical explanations for the action of physical phenomena, and the argument that diverse phenomena can be explained by unified forces; these theories offer ironic parallels to those of his father, who would also unify forces but with spiritual explanations.

Lovering was a beloved teacher but not an innovative researcher. Although he was permanent secretary of the American Association for the Advancement of Science from 1854 to 1873, his own investigations were largely observations and correlations of information. He graduated from Harvard in 1833, and he spent his whole career there. When James knew him, he was serving as regent of the college, a position like a modern registrar. Eliot praised him for his "capacity for assiduous routine labor." He brought those virtues into the classroom as well, where he stated scientific facts and laws with great clarity, illustrated them successfully with routine experiments, offered occasional oratorical drama, and frequently recited exact passages from textbooks. His brief studies at the Divinity School and his idealistic Unitarian faith added to his appeal as a lecturer on campus and on the popular lecture circuit, including many presentations at the Lowell Institute. Through Lovering, James's exposure to theories of the mechanistic uniformity of nature were laced with idealism about the divine architect behind the laws of classical physics.[20]

James did not record many direct responses to these mainstream scientific ideas that he was learning from Eliot and Lovering during his first years of formal study, but when he did, he raised doubts about strictly mechanistic approaches. For example, at the beginning of his second year, he considered the possibility that "our modern 'forces' light, magnetism &c. [are] no more physical entities than we now consider Bacon's 'forms' are." Baconianism was the paragon of strict empiricism associated with scientific work, but Francis Bacon himself combined his attention to evidence from the senses with theories about hidden forms that could explain the secret workings of material facts. James suggested that forces associated with science may also have, like Bacon's forms, nonempirical qualities: magnetism, for example, instead of being a physical entity, was much like "malleability or any other property of matter." This implies that forces are not things but functions of matter—that is, forces are the ways in which matter behaves. This focus on the functional properties of matter rather than its tangible empirical qualities suggests his later turn away from traditional empiricism, with his proposition that consciousness exists not as an entity but rather as a function. In 1863, well before formulating radical empiricism, his words about the functional properties of matter emerged as part of his early resistance to materialist views of nature. He would gain support for doubts about some of the assumptions of his formal education from some scientists themselves, including his reading of Michael Faraday, who was both a co-discoverer, with Henry James's friend Joseph Henry, of electromagnetic induction in 1831, and an ardent Sandemanian. This religious sect emphasized the simplicity of early Christian life and the direct action of the divine in the world. The elder James was also a follower of Sandemanianism in the 1830s on his path toward Swedenborgianism. In these contexts, even while studying mainstream materialistic science, William James was immediately drawn to asking philosophical questions about the natural facts of his scientific investigations.[21]

Despite William James's dedication to science, his formal studies made him restless. A science education would be more important to him for how he assimilated the material rather than for what he was taught. He was more interested in the relations between science and other fields and in the broad implications of his new learning. During his months as a chemistry student, his teacher Charles Eliot reported that "James was a very interesting and agreeable pupil," readily "mastering the processes" and passing the exams. He also observed patiently that James was "tolerably punctual at

recitations," but he "was not wholly devoted to the study of Chemistry." Moreover, "his mind was excursive," a trait he showed even more outside the classroom. James spiced up chatting letters to friends with deeper thoughts, even signing them with mock gravity, identifying himself as "Your guide / Philosopher / & Friend." He applied those speculative interests to the exploration of "other sciences and realms of thought" beyond his chemistry assignments, and when he was in the laboratory, he liked to try his hand at "novel experimenting."[22]

In the next few years, James experimented with a few different sciences, while grazing in a wide range of other, nonscientific fields. After just three semesters of full-time study of chemistry, he took a leave from the Lawrence Scientific School for the spring of 1863. As early as November 1861, he had already planned to "spend one term at home." His reading suggests that his time away from school was a season of shift in scientific interests toward psychology, in both its philosophical and physiological aspects. Eliot later suspected medical problems, but he did not offer specifics in diagnosis or timing beyond saying that James in his youth suffered some "ill health, or rather something which I imagined to be a delicacy of nervous constitution," a veiled reference to neurasthenia. His teacher also said James possessed a "remarkable spirituality." During his first years of schooling, James did not say anything about his own health, but he did continue to study science on his own, even as he read widely in other fields as well. While continuing his avocational reading, he reentered the Lawrence Scientific School in the fall of 1863, now as a student of Jeffries Wyman in the Department of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology. He revealed support for his new teacher's Darwinian leanings when he admiringly incorporated one of the careful anatomist's experiments into his notebook reflections on the naturalistic explanation of "organic phenomena."[23]

James had already shown interest in physiology when he had been a student of chemistry; noticing this, Eliot gave him a laboratory assignment in the fall of 1862 to determine "the effects on the kidneys of eating bread made with Liebig-Horsford baking powder, whose chief constituent was acid phosphate." Since acid phosphate is already present in the human body, the physiological response to the consumption of additional acid phosphate in the form of the baking powder would have been minimal. With the physiological presence of the phosphate not yet known, however, this was a reasonable if not daring experiment; for the student in lab, however, it was tedious. His teacher said James kept an "accurate" record of his findings, but he added

delicately, the results were "unpromising." Young James found the whole experiment "tiresome," especially since he was administering the distasteful bread to himself, and he asked to be given another assignment. Eliot observed that James's reaction was part of a trend that would dominate his scientific study for almost a decade: although he would return intermittently to the laboratory, his first scientific education was "in large proportion observational." James keenly wanted to do more lab work, he respected it deeply as the foundation of scientific comprehension for its attention to tangible facts, and he would do extensive and innovative experimental work once he started his teaching career, but he did not do much experimental work during his original education in science. Within the next few years, when he took up reviewing books and other writing, he reported that part of his attraction to this work of evaluating the scientific experimentation of others was "the simple cleansing of the persona, as it were, from the laboratory dirt."[24] These steps away from the practice of science were also steps toward reflections on its methods and toward philosophizing.

Philosophical Reflections within Scientific Study

In his 1862 notebook, James's entries on physics trailed off as he filled the pages with a range of speculative ideas and personal reflections. Eliot could see this trend coming when the young chemistry student grew distracted from his "systematic . . . education" in favor of "unsystematic excursions . . . [in]to philosophical studies." For example, he recorded a basic epistemological problem about the nature of perception and conception: "Can I without consciousness distinguish between two objects—my chair and my wash stand"? Here is an early and simple example of a question that would become a centerpiece of his psychology and philosophy, and that he would answer: No, the selective attention of consciousness is fundamental to our perception and understanding of our world. Without it, the world is a uniform and undistinguished mass of data, but with it, and its selective attention, we make informed distinctions to organize and deal with the world around us. With his notebooks serving as psychological complements to his physics lessons, young James was already taking steps away from a spectator view of knowledge and toward the "dynamic relationship" of mind and world, which would become crucial parts of his mature philosophy.[25] Lovering taught him the mechanical relation of physical bodies in space, and James questioned the mechanical perception of clear and distinct objects in perception.

As he worked in science, James offered some very basic reflections on the relation of the One and the Many: "Realists say, our idea of *man* has a diff[erent] *source* (reflection) from our idea of *men* (sense)." This suggests his doubts about the merits of separating an abstraction from its concrete manifestations in particulars. The pragmatic philosophy of the mature James would expand this leaning into a wholesale critique of abstraction: because a thing is "known as" its effects, then the only significance of an abstract idea is in its relation to concreteness or its "cash value" in experience. He took another decisive step toward pragmatism when he first met Charles Peirce late in 1861 as a fellow student at the Scientific School, and during talks over the next few years, including discussion in their informal Metaphysical Club, where they and their colleagues worked their way toward pragmatic insights. Even this entry on the abstractions of philosophical realists likely grew from an exchange with Peirce, who was himself a realist, but one who posited that our knowledge of the real truth would not emerge from reflection on essences but from experience and inquiry over the long run.[26] This orientation toward the future would have a decisive influence on James's prospective emphasis on ideas in the making; meanwhile, he continued to learn from sense experiences but began to doubt the increasingly brash claims of some scientific empiricists.

James's interest in large cosmic questions attracted him to the brilliant, irascible son of Professor Benjamin Peirce. James was still misspelling his name, but already quoting "C. S. Pierce" in his 1862 notebook. Over the next few years, as their friendship grew and their discussions deepened, they exchanged questions about the role of philosophy and religion in the midst of the growing authority of science, which they witnessed in school. James's entry referring to "Pierce" is a strict logical lesson based on the limits of our knowledge. In response to "the reductio ad absurdum," a logical weapon of philosophical abstraction that infers the truth of a position from the absurdity of its denial, he wrote that it "can never be used in metaphysical discussion & rarely in scientific because it assumes that we know the sum of possibilities." Both Peirce and James endorsed the elusiveness behind even the most proud and confident claims. In addition, unlike the emerging enthusiasts for science, they did not hesitate to compare metaphysics with science because each contained uncertainty. This quotation, the earliest known evidence of James's intellectual contact with Peirce, significantly points to the probabilistic thinking that James and Peirce would both use to equate the distinct fields of science and religion for their common human quests to understand

the world—and for their mutual limitations. These mainstays of the Metaphysical Club would famously search for compromise of science and religion, but what is less often understood is their emphasis on the fields' shared uncertainties before even the need for compromise.[27]

James continued to assess the plausibility of scientific and religious claims in his persistent reading of "the 'Philosopher of Königsberg.'" His next notebook entry is a short philosophical note on the relation of knowledge and faith, with a clear summary of Immanuel Kant's philosophical goals: "Kant works critically until he finds it unsatisfactory—and then stops, at morality, freedom, God." And then James claims, "[David] Hume do[es the same]," despite the Enlightenment philosopher's bold reputation for antireligious sentiments and for disproof of arguments for the existence of the divine based on natural design. James observes the parallel in Hume for also employing philosophical reasoning critically but stopping at a different endpoint: in place of Kant's ultimates, "Hume . . . stops at cause."[28] James assessed Kant and Hume working on the same cosmological terrain, but where they "stop" displays their respective selective attention supporting religious or scientific orientations.

These philosophical observations would filter into the half-defiant name for the discussion group, the Metaphysical Club, which formed in the late 1860s. James in 1862 was already emphasizing, even in the midst of scientific inquiries, that "[n]one succeed in leaving Faith entirely out." To develop this insight, James did not wait to read Charles Renouvier, who undercut certainty in all human thought, although reading the French philosopher first in 1868 surely confirmed his thinking. The insights of Peirce and James about the limits and consequences of knowledge and about the presence of faith in all forms of thinking would become a starting point for their discussions of ways to use science for philosophical and religious insight on their path to the development of pragmatism. James reiterated this 1862 notebook idea in one of his first influential essays, "The Sentiment of Rationality" (1879): "We cannot live or think at all without some degree of faith. Faith is synonymous with working hypothesis." Seeing the operation of faith in many areas, he depicts the constructed quality of knowledge: in religious beliefs, philosophical assumptions, scientific hypotheses, and worldviews in general. Both Peirce and James acknowledge that each of these practices involves a sort of faith, and therefore, none of them is immune from uncertainty, even as each has its uses.[29]

In another reference to Peirce in the same notebook, James uses a religious term to identify relations between scientific thinking and ideas that most scientists find to be irrelevant to their work: "The *thou* idea, as Pierce [*sic*] calls it, dominates an entire realm of mental phenomena, embracing poetry, all direct intuition of nature, scientific instincts, relations of man to man, morality &c." Contemporary readers of these words will surely be reminded of Martin Buber's *I and Thou* (1923), which drew on centuries-old religious impulses to challenge or complement religious monism in favor of a more mystical relation of the divine with the faithful person. Despite their own scientific schooling, both Peirce and James proposed that aspects of science could be placed in this rarified company, each one mode of inquiry among others, with no privileged place. Significantly, they refer to the "instincts" of science, suggesting a focus on the assumptions and methods that guide inquiry. These orienting directions, like intuitions and religious belief, especially mysticism, involve thinking in relation, with subject and object connected to each other in experience, as he explains: "*All analysis* must be into a triad; *me* & *it* require the complement *thou*." The emphasis on relations would be central to James's radical empiricism, and this triad anticipates Peirce's evaluation of three factors in reasoning: subjective, objective, and "abductive," his intermediate term for inferences based on explanatory hypotheses; Peirce applied his triad to a host of interacting networks, including ideals, facts, hypotheses; idea, signified, sign; art, practicality, science; and more. After the 1850s, scientists rarely grouped their work with intuition, poetry, morality, religion, or any "thou" idea, even among those who maintained personal humanistic and religious commitments. In applying this notion so broadly, Peirce and James transcended their training, which was tacitly based on the dualism of the "me" and "it"—the objective investigator and the natural world. Instead, they acknowledged that even scientific investigation has elements of inspiration and subjective relations, and therefore science includes the participatory power of the "thou idea."[30] This line of thinking about science would lead Peirce and James to consider hypotheses to be at least as important as facts in the formation of scientific theories.

Even while tracking the inescapability of faith and the disagreements that come with differences of belief, James added, some ideas develop reputations for certainty. Repeated perceptions make them appear more sure, and so "one thinks necessary that wh. he has never seen violated." Even "scientific

ideas, [such] as the laws of motion &c., the unity of nature, seem (almost?) necessary to the adept." The authority they command derives from their continued use and utility, since they were "slowly & laboriously evolved by successive generations." In time, James predicted "the law of inertia" will "petrify into an idea so familiar" that it will seem an idea "as necessary as that of cause"; this attention to the halting evolution of ideas suggests the scaffolding beneath the confidence in scientific theories—or any other notion presented with equivalent certainty. These notebook reflections resemble his later descriptions of pragmatism in relation to common sense, which he also identified as the product of historical development, with particular ideas "able to preserve themselves through . . . experience" to become "fundamental ways of thinking." Despite a growing reputation for the ability of science to provide the most certain knowledge available, James suggested that to "the adept" in science (a professional class he was aspiring to join), scientific ideas "seem . . . necessary"—but he qualified that functional confidence with the qualifying word "almost." He associated scientific theories not with timeless truth but with the habits that form when the ideas are not violated in experience. That was not a reason to dismiss them. In fact, he showed pride in his new profession by implying that scientists had been cultural leaders in drawing the rest of the population toward their insights. By writing about the "historical growth of necessary truths," as James says with a fertile paradox, he shows that he is neither awestruck by the authority of science nor dismissive of it; instead he is presenting an insider's genealogy about the construction of its pedigree.[31]

James strayed further away from both his scientific work and his father's assumptions toward the end of his 1862 notebook. The elder James held a traditional view of the mental traits and social roles of men and women. Although some traces of these views would appear in William, especially in his marriage, his own early observation about a gender distinction in moral thinking was closer to progressive and modern feminist arguments with their critique of static abstractions: "Women act in detail & judge of each case for itself & by their own feeling." While his father would say such things only in patronizing critique, William showed admiration, as he compared female traits with the traditional (male-oriented) view of ethics based on the proposition that "all moral rules are a generalization." By contrast, "women do not generalize much, they rather seize on particulars." Just as he learned from the "feminine-mystical mind" in contrast with the "scientific-academic mind," James's portrayal of women framing their morality with less reli-

ance on rules was actually high praise, especially given his growing philosophical doubts about fixed certainties.[32] He emphasized thinking about particulars rather than settling on abstract generalizations about them, views that show his questioning of the absolutist—and prejudicial—dimensions of his father.

Medicine, Psychiatry, and Their Patients

While James was struggling with intellectual questions, he felt more immediate urgency about his career choices, so he sketched out "a resumé of [my] future history for the next few years" shortly after starting his scientific studies in 1861: "1 year Study Chemistry, then spend one term at home, then 1 year with Wyman, then a medical education, then five or six years with Agassiz." This plan would put him on a path to becoming a field naturalist. While the first steps of his plan were a remarkably accurate projection of his next few years of study, he added with typical self-deprecation that after this much study, "then probably death, death, death with inflation and plethora of knowledge." That facetious flourish hinted at the reflective aspects of James's mind that would indeed contribute to his delays. Having studied three semesters with Eliot, James had lost his "first flush of . . . chemical enthusiasm." After half a year of private study, he returned to school in the fall of 1863, explaining his revised plan to his cousin Katherine (Kitty) James Prince: "A year and a half of hard work at it here . . . somewhat dulled my ardor." Still committed to science, he renewed his enthusiasm by shifting fields: "I am back here again, studying this time Comparative Anatomy."[33] Still at the Lawrence Scientific School, he now worked closely with Jeffries Wyman, who was a noncontroversial careful experimenter and dedicated teacher.

With his return to school in September 1863, James set himself a deadline for deciding his vocation. In the same letter to Prince, he wrote: "I am obliged before the 15th of January to make finally and irrevocably 'the choice of a profession.' " Not yet decided, he continued by making light of his serious choice: "I have four alternatives: Natural History, Medicine, Printing, Beggary." Despite his attraction to scientific study, he was worried that it might be financially impractical, so he added flippantly, "Much may be said in favor of each. I have named them in the ascending order of their pecuniary invitingness." Despite the family's inheritance, the elder James's lack of steady conventional work and the family's size and frequent travel had taken their toll on the family's wealth. William was aware of the

financial concerns that lay immediately beneath the vocational question, and he expressed them with a playful reference to his father's spiritualism: "After all[,] the great problem of life seems to be how to keep body and soul together." He then concluded with a more serious reference to finances, saying "I *have* to consider lucre." The choice was particularly acute for William James because his soul and body led him in different directions. Despite its naturalistic associations, science actually expressed his "soul" because of his attraction to its great philanthropic potential, but practical considerations forced him to reconsider. The mention of printing was a hint toward the popular writing he would indeed take up, starting with book reviews only two years later and continuing with his public intellectual work; and he considered that "[m]edicine would pay, and I should still be dealing with subjects which interest me." James's reasoning was repeated countless times by scientists in the nineteenth century, including Harvard's own Louis Agassiz and Asa Gray, but James was more vehement about the mere expediency of the medical path: "[H]ow much drudgery and of what an unpleasant kind is there!"[34] But medicine would be a way to study physiology, as a basis for understanding psychology.

During the same month that James wrote this letter to his cousin, he wrote to his mother on the same subject. Although only twenty-one, he felt "very much the importance of making soon a final choice of my business in life. I stand now at the place where the road forks": he hoped for a career in natural history for its "mental dignity & independence," but feared it would bring "physical penury"; given his commitment to science, other paths smacked of "selling . . . one's soul." In his first known declaration of interest in women or a future life of marriage—subjects that would contribute to his bleak moods for years—James continued with a forlorn romantic tone: "If I myself were the only one concerned I should not hesitate an instant in my choice. But it seems hard on Mrs. W. J., 'that not impossible she,' to ask her to share an empty purse and a cold hearth." The same poem by seventeenth-century English Catholic poet Richard Crashaw that he was quoting from also includes descriptions of a future mate still "in shady leaves of Destiny" and refers to sadness about love being "long [in] chusing a Dart." These whimsical poetic asides amplified his serious concerns about the vocational forks in the road before him: "On one side is *science*, upon the other *business* (the honorable, honored and productive business of printing seems the most attractive), with *medecine* [*sic*], which partakes of advantages of both, between them, but which has drawbacks of its own." Throughout these practical

deliberations, his avocational education continued, with wide reading—and some wistful musings about his future love.[35]

Wyman's joint teaching in the medical school and James's own sense of the practicality of this profession drew him toward medicine. In September, he wrote to Prince, whose husband William Henry Prince was a doctor in an asylum and who herself had been a patient. In particular, "of all departments of Medicine, that to wh. Dr. Prince devotes himself is, I shd. think, the most interesting." And he added, that he would "like to see him and his patients," to explore the vocation for himself. The professional interest in insanity intersected with his curiosity about whether his own mental hesitancy and uncertainties indicated that he was prone to it himself. Since he had not seen his cousins in two years, he doubted if he ought to visit or even write to them, saying of himself "nature makes us so awkward." Moreover, the tensions from ambivalence and vocational choice made him blurt out that they might want to "chain me up in your asylum," a flippant aside displaying an earnest worry. Although he showed no overt signs of insanity, he remained vigilant and worried about his mental state, especially since he knew of the range of cases of mental illness in his extended family, including Katherine Prince herself and two other cousins.[36]

James's tendency toward indecision was already in full force, as he announced with understatement about his vocational indecision, "I confess I hesitate." In the fall of 1863, he worried that this trait was itself a sign of his brittle mental state. He would remain in this posture of hesitation for another decade; in fact, not only in this period but for the rest of his life he would repeat this pattern of decision making, which left him puzzled in his youth, but which strengthened his ability to welcome contrasts and even integrate them forcefully. He summoned up a sampling of the strength that would allow him to find decisiveness even within his ambivalence: by the end of the fall semester, he felt confident about his choice for medicine and was now ready to "shoot forth into life like an arrow." But on writing to Kitty Prince again, he doubted his abilities to work with "live lunatics" since he feared, "I shd catch their contagion & go as mad as any of them in a week." Upon reading one of his course books, "Dr. Winslow on Obscure Diseases of the Mind, . . . my reason almost fled," since he was "so rudely shaken by the familiar symptoms the Doctor gave of insanity." Forbes Winslow urged checking for the "precursory symptoms of cerebro-psychical disease" in youth when the "incipient stages" of insanity manifest subtly; the "disorders of the mind" included "acute morbid sensibility, physical and

mental, accompanied by a difficulty of fixing the attention, . . . fits of apathy [and] . . . a state of moody abstraction." Winslow even warned that "indulgence in a state of morbid reverie, or disposition to 'build castles in the air,' is fraught with serious mischief to the mind" because it is "precursory of softening of the brain." These clinical symptoms often did indeed line up with James's own temperamental traits. The multiplication of choices in modern times also multiplied his worries, because "everyone must more or less act with insufficient knowledge—'go it blind,' as they say. Few can afford the time to try what suits them." He did not yet know how much time he would actually take, but at this point he was already feeling "the awful responsibility of such a choice." The mature James would be known for his advocacy of bold risk-taking, but not before he learned to cope with his own hesitancy by believing and acting despite the kinds of ambiguities that surrounded him in his youth—vivid personal versions of the leap of faith he would advocate in "The Will to Believe."[37]

James enjoyed his work in anatomy and physiology with Wyman, but his previous choices still held some attraction. In September 1863, James told his mother that "I shall confer with Wyman about the prospects of a naturalist and finally decide." He chose medicine. In February of the next year, he wrote to a friend, "I embraced the medical profession a couple of months ago." His "first impressions" were that "there is much humbug therein"; in particular, he was keenly aware of the therapeutic limits of mainstream medicine, except for "surgery, in wh. s'thing positive is sometimes accomplished." In the spirit of clinical trust in nature with limited use of remedies, as advocated by many at Harvard Medical School, including his own teacher Oliver Wendell Holmes, Senior, and in keeping with his family's use of alternative therapies, he added that "a doctor does more by the moral effect of his presence" than with any prescribed remedy—and he added sharply, "He also extracts money from them."[38] Despite his lukewarm attitude about the field, he was eager to continue working with Wyman, whose moderation would allow him to learn science without debate about competing modes of medicine or about any scientific controversy.

Shortly after James entered the medical school in the spring of 1864, his family moved to Boston. He was delighted by this move, which he had been advocating for months because of "the necessity of the whole family being near the arena of the future activity of us young men." The city that Holmes called the Hub of the Universe was the site of both his own scientific ambitions at Harvard and his brother Henry's first serious forays on the literary

scene after brief attendance at Harvard Law School. He might have added that in addition to the "young men," their father would also enjoy the move to Boston because of his involvement with the intellectual society of Boston, including the Saturday Club that he had already joined.[39] William then lived at home while he went to school, as he had during his semester away from classes. This also meant that despite his intellectual wayfaring far from his father's thoughts, he returned to the setting of his childhood, at home with the James family.

Looking for Living Treasures in Brazil

Within a year of his transfer to the medical school, James again became restless. In his prospective "resumé" of 1861, James had promised himself years of study with Louis Agassiz. Since then, he had decided on medicine, but he persistently referred to it for its usefulness for learning science; as he told his mother in 1863, "I *may* stick to science," especially if he could "get into Agassiz' museum" as an assistant. He knew the salary would not be much, so his financial worries resurfaced because this career move would "drain away at your property for a few more years." Despite these worries, from March 1865 to January 1866, he joined an expedition to explore the natural history of Brazil with Agassiz, who was himself a doctor turned scientist. The trip took him far from the orbit of his family and of American culture, immersing him in the polyglot world of Brazil on an exotic adventure. While he was happy to taste the "delightful savor of freedom and gypsy-hood," especially after a few years of sedentary study and vocational hand-wringing, young James mostly welcomed the trip for the "chance of learning a good deal of Zoology and botany." With firsthand field experience in the tropics to crown his range of scientific and medical training, he hoped to lay the groundwork for a career of teaching and research in the biological sciences.[40]

The expedition to Brazil brought a living expression of the choices James had been debating internally. It was an adventure, such as military service or work with freed African Americans might have provided, but within science. Here was an opportunity to work closely with one of the world's great scientists; but his science would be in a form his father could endorse since Agassiz was deeply religious and a member of the elder James's Saturday Club no less. Also, in place of deep and often troubling reflections, James would be doing science in a very practical way, gaining intimate familiarity with the scientific method from prolonged field work and organization of samples. And most specifically, because of Agassiz's great teaching reputation,

James had hopes, as he said shortly after his arrival in Brazil, of "getting a pretty valuable training from the Professor," because of his "pitching in to my loose and superficial way of thinking." Agassiz himself was a "vast practical engine" with a prodigious knowledge of natural facts; and when his students had questions, he encouraged them likewise to "go to Nature; take the facts into your own hands; look, and see for yourself!" This expedition with its excitement and practical learning was pushing James's deeper questions aside, and it suggested a possible vocation. Perhaps it was all that contemplation itself that was the problem; instead, here was a chance for action: he even referred to himself in this way—as "a man of action"—in a set of notes written about the trip. Although James did not finally become a naturalist, he would maintain respect for the way Agassiz cajoled his students to learn directly from experience, even throughout his more reflective work. Three decades later, in a memorial to his teacher, James honored Agassiz's "knowledge of details," which left him with a deep respect for the importance of keeping faithful to natural facts, both in contrast with the abstractions of theory and as a grounding ballast for his "will to believe" theory. In 1896, when he also first presented that theory, he also remembered that "the hours I spent with Agassiz so taught me the difference between all possible abstractionists and all livers in the light of the world's concrete fulness [*sic*], that I have never been able to forget it"; in 1879 he had already applied his teacher's lessons (with the same alternative spelling) for describing even any plausible theory as a "monstrous abridgment of things, . . . [an] inadequate substitute for the fulness [*sic*] of the truth." And in the "Will to Believe" itself, he also insisted on remaining faithful to natural facts for as long as they provide clear guidance; only in the face of ambiguous or inaccessible facts, in situations that still demanded practical action, did he then encourage willing to believe.[41]

Louis Agassiz's approach to science, with his infectious enthusiasm and encyclopedic grasp of natural facts attracted not only young James but also many popular audiences and cultural elites, who eagerly came forward with material support for his ambitious plans. The seed of the Brazil expedition itself was born in 1864 when a wealthy friend, Nathaniel Thayer, heard Agassiz suggest that an exploration of the Amazon River basin would likely produce evidence to disprove Darwinism, which Agassiz opposed with his theories of ancient glaciers and the special divine creation of species in their current locations, with each glacier serving as "God's great plough" periodically producing extinctions before new special creations. Even before this

expedition was planned, the Amazon River basin had been the focus of intense scientific curiosity. Most famously, Alfred Russel Wallace, who developed the theory of natural selection concurrently with Darwin, explored the river basin from 1848 to 1852 and ironically, in light of Agassiz's anti-Darwinist intentions, began to develop his ideas also in Brazil. James referred to Wallace's theories and explorations a few years later in a psychology lecture; he tacitly noted the place of purposeful adaptations in saying that "the color of butterflies was thought to be purely accidental by the old naturalists. . . . Wallace found it to be otherwise." In addition to this scientific work pointing toward natural selection, there was growing fascination with the luxurious and exotic beauty of the southern continent especially since Frederick Church exhibited his widely popular landscape painting, *The Heart of the Andes*, first in New York in 1859 and then in seven other American cities and London by the early 1860s. The theatrical display included a darkened room, special lighting on the centerpiece, and a frame to create the illusion that the viewer was peering into a window to see South America as it really was. In New York alone, twelve thousand "vicarious tourists" paid twenty-five cents each to see the large colorful panorama on display. Its appeal was not only for its depiction of sublime scenes of steep mountains and treacherous gorges but also for its domestication of these wild scenes with hints about God's original creation and about the reach of Christianity into these foreign lands. This artwork reinforced Agassiz's kind of science and religion both because of its similarly broad public appeal and, more specifically, because it tacitly exhibited a view of special and dramatic creation with the South American landscape vicariously representing original divine creation. Church gave visual expression to the exuberant travel writings of Alexander von Humboldt, who had climbed the very mountain, Chimborazo, that was central to the painting. The German scientist offered exuberant depictions of gigantic and picturesque tropical nature.[42] The science and art reinforced each other with portrayals of equatorial South America as the microcosm of the world, stimulating broad enthusiasm for expeditions such as the one James joined in 1865.

South America provided Agassiz a dramatic setting for potentially unraveling Darwinian theory since this was where Darwin himself had traveled, around the continent, while reading Charles Lyell's propositions for the enduring impact of gradual geological changes before arriving in the Galapagos to see evidence of species differentiation on different islands. This was Agassiz's kind of public science, hot on Darwin's own trail, in an

exotic setting for gaining wide attention. Moreover, the Swiss-born scientist was an expert on Brazilian fishes, and he gleefully hoped that evidence of glaciers even "under this burning sky" would vindicate his theory, with his hope to show that those great catastrophes would offer clearer explanations than the vast stretches of time Darwin's theory demanded. The plans quickly expanded as the president of Pacific Mail Steamship offered an empty mail ship and Agassiz assembled a storehouse of scientific collecting equipment. In the middle of the trip, James spoofed the aggrandizing pretensions of the mission, calling it "a great North American Naturalists Expedition, which for the past 6 months had been overrunning Brazil and ransacking her living treasures." Thayer paid all the expenses for Agassiz and his wife and six scientists and artists from his museum, while six student volunteers (including James) and a few vacationing travelers joined the exciting venture.[43]

A practical problem in 1865 was that the Brazilian government had been keeping the river closed to foreign traffic. Exploring parties had been exciting American business interests especially since the 1840s with hopes to expand commerce through the Caribbean into South America using the vast waters of the Amazon. In the 1850s Matthew Fontaine Maury of the U.S. Navy argued for "free navigation of the Amazon, and the settlement of its valley," with Southern slaveholders or with American slaves sold in Brazil, but the Brazilians responded with suspicion. The famous and charismatic Agassiz soothed Brazilian wariness by completely avoiding any commercial or diplomatic debates. It helped that Emperor Dom Pedro II conducted geographic researches of his own; and Agassiz flattered him with frequent letters before the trip and supported his position as an honorary correspondent of the American Geographical Society. From the first moment they met, Agassiz swept up the emperor with his enthusiasm. He personally escorted the emperor through the ship, spurring his interest in both the plans for scientific collecting and the engineering of the vessel itself. The emperor responded with lavish assistance, including the provision of a Brazilian steamer, assistants to join the party, and, most decisively, his sanctioning of the trip, which turned it into an almost official expedition. Back home, Agassiz had energetically supported women's education, and on the expedition he worked closely with his wife, Elizabeth Cary Agassiz, who was the lead author of their published journal for the trip. When he gave scientific lectures in Rio de Janeiro, the emperor arrived with the whole royal family, thus creating a first time that women had attended a public talk in Brazil. In

part because of the great reception given to Agassiz's expedition, the Brazilian government officially opened the Amazon to the commerce of all countries within a few months after the Americans left with their scientific collections from the "King of Rivers."[44] The sheer vigor of Agassiz's enthusiasm for science would make waves well beyond his scientific investigations.

Despite his broad appeal, Agassiz had little direct interest in commercial issues, even as they clearly benefited him—and even as his science benefited commercial interests. Like many an enterpriser, he assumed the value of getting "the saw mill busy in these forests," but to him the voyage to Brazil was essentially a mission to disprove Darwin's theory of evolution. A friend of James's father also joined the expedition; Episcopal bishop Alonzo Potter preached on board against Darwin's "theories of transmutation," recommending Agassiz's religious science, with words especially directed toward the young scientists on board. James was not impressed: he frankly thought Potter's words simply "wooden." Young James did find Agassiz "fascinating" but also "so childlike" that he found his anti-Darwinism utterly unpersuasive. And so, he added a few days later, "since seeing more of Agassiz, my desire to be with him, so as to learn from him has much diminished." Most significantly, while James gravitated toward experience trumping theory, he noticed his teacher's readiness to shun the evidence of experience, even to the point of letting his commitment to theory inhibit further investigation; so "if he finds glacier marks [near] Rio, he will not need to go . . . to the Amazon." On his teacher's glacier theory, he added, with mock reverence, "[O]mnia exeunt in mysterium" (all issues in mystery), because Agassiz so readily relied on elusive religious explanations. After the trip, James was even more blunt; for all of his teacher's good qualities, his "evil passions" led him to make "burlesque misrepresentations of Darwin's book." James was not alone in his view of the scientific merits of the expedition; for example, geologist Charles Lyell said of the trip that Agassiz "has gone mad about glaciers."[45]

Despite his scientific disagreements with Agassiz, James maintained his fascination with the august scientist even three years later and two continents away. In 1868, when studying physiological psychology in Germany, he interrupted a notebook on philosophical and personal reflections with an entry summarizing "Agassiz's Amazon theory" based on glacial action on the geological layers, including "stratified gravel [and] laminated clays, . . . an immensely thick sand deposit, . . . and reddish beds with only traces of stratification." James dutifully reported the changes in the land, which could

have been from the "first melting of the glacier," but he showed reason to doubt the theory: evidence for "deposits of present river mud" would have nothing to do with glaciers, and the "absence of fossils" meant limited evidence for any grand theory. Fourteen years after the trip to Brazil, James mentioned Agassiz as an example of a "great man" who, like a Darwinian variation, no less, "brings about a rearrangement . . . of the pre-existing social relations." He even mocked Agassiz by equating his arrival in America to the adaptive prowess of the European rabbit in New Zealand. James sidestepped the great man's increasingly discredited theories in favor of praising his titanic character and his "concrete method of learning" and teaching.[46]

During the expedition itself, James did not openly disagree with Agassiz, but his Darwinian perspectives gradually emerged from careful observations of nature. His teacher Wyman would have been proud. In a jungle habitat, James made an extended study of a certain active and curious spider monkey, whose species was "much the most interesting of the South American quadrumana," an early classification of monkeys and apes with four prehensile limbs. James's account reflects the evolution of his scientific interests from biology to psychology: after a detailed account of the monkey's gross anatomy, he paid more attention to its behavior and emotions. At one point, this "best friend, was paying a little too much attention" to the sympathetic naturalist, and so, "I wd. forcibly tear my self away." This produced a "tragic-comic performance of despair." He was tacitly supporting Darwinian propositions for continuity of species, even in mental and emotional life, and went on to describe not only the monkey's physical agility but also its emotional range. "I am convinced," he concluded, "that the vulgar idea of a monkey being a merely ludicrous creature is all wrong." With all his thorough description of his fellow primate's antics, James was most interested in the way the monkey "suddenly stop[ped when] his attention [was] called to something else." Recalling his medical interest in psychiatry, he reported that monkeys show an "utter inability to control their attention or their emotions, so that they are as completely possessed as insane people"; their attention follows "whatever feeling happens to be uppermost in them at the time," and this gives them, James added, "a helplessness . . . which always recommends them to my pity." Here James drew upon the prevailing hierarchical view of mind, ranging from adult humans with reasoning power to children, the insane, and animals with instincts; and he was tapping the accompanying fear of dissolution when the higher could no longer

control the lower; for example, George Beard, who developed the diagnosis for "neurasthenia" that James would later apply to himself, said of insanity that it "makes us children, . . . makes us animals." James's informal jungle assessments provided an experiential prelude to his later theories about the power of focused and selective consciousness, which gives the reasoning primate an extra adaptive power.[47] Louis Agassiz could appreciate James's careful observations, but he would not countenance these psychological applications of Darwinism.

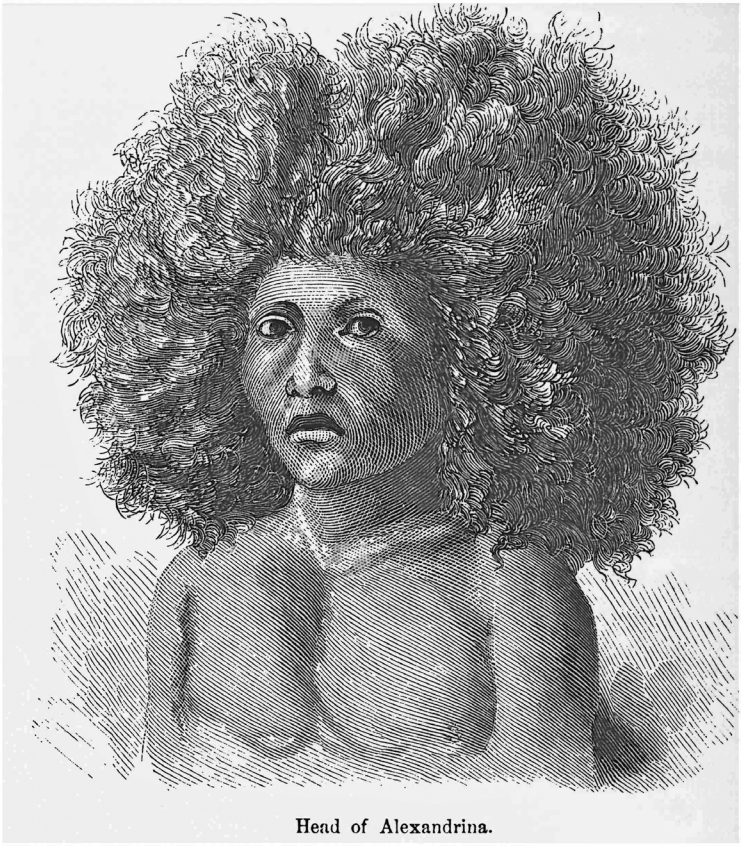
A major feature of Agassiz's anti-Darwinian mission was his eagerness to promote his racist belief in the separate creation of the human races, with amalgamation creating degeneration: God had created human races separately, and humanity should maintain this segregation. Agassiz ordered Brazilians of various complexions to pose for his gallery of racial hierarchy. James looked on in disbelief while various "mocas [slang for Brazilians of mixed race] . . . were induced to strip and pose naked" for maximum anatomical analysis. James had a completely different impression. He found the Brazilians "very nicely dressed in white muslin and jewelry, . . . apparently refined." Describing "4 Indians" he had run into one day, he called one "respectable [and] civilized but still a perfect indian"; and he called "2 others excellent stout fellows and perfect gentlemen." Where Agassiz searched for their faults, James asked, "[What] makes these people so refined and well bred?" In accord with Darwin, James pointed not only to continuities among primates but also to commonalities across races within humanity. James so thoroughly rejected Agassiz's typologies and fear of miscegenation that, just a few years after the trip, he supported the idea that "humanity as a whole will have advanced" from "the mixture of races . . . taking place so inevitably all over the world."[48] James was progressive not only in his thinking about science and religion but also in his racial views.

Sharply denying his teacher's crude moral hierarchies, James noted that the people in front of him were, "at all events not sluttish." He sounds like Huck Finn feeling guilty for disagreeing with the racism surrounding him; James maintained that even though "these are peasants," scorned by Brazilian society and by his own expedition leader, "no gentleman of Europe has better manners." And he added that the Brazilians, "masters and servants" alike, had "not a *bit* of our damned anglo saxon brutality and vulgarity." James even found that the people so readily regarded by most European Americans as exotic primitives lived lives not unlike what he knew back home. He recognized that "the amazonians have not the pleasures of

[the] domestic hearth which are so dear to us, . . . but in the mosquito net, hardly domestic, but personal they have a faint substitute for it." While in their household, you have the "feeling of . . . security" that you get with a "big blazing fireside in our winters [when] you hear the icy storm at work out of doors." By contrast, to support his theory of racial hierarchy, Agassiz regarded Brazil as a case study of his worst social fears since "all clearness of type had been blurred, . . . leaving a mongrel nondescript type." Yet even Agassiz and his wife had to admire a "cafuzo" (with "a mixture of Indian and black blood in her veins"), who worked for Elizabeth Agassiz. Young Alexandrina had "keen perceptions" and was "a very efficient aid." They were, however, very ready to explain away her virtues by adding dismissively that she was "a person whose only training has been through the senses"; their conclusion resembled the patronizing racial theories of Henry James, Senior. Yet William's view bore ironic resemblance to another of his father's theories, about the best way to raise his own very non-cafuzo children: with a sensuous education. In sharp contrast with Agassiz's exploitative portraits, young James sketched Alexandrina with individual dignity, a hint of sadness, and even skeptical detachment; and her serene look and knowing eyes suggest that her spontaneous encounters with nature, as with the ancients he admired, would give her insights into nature that the civilized scientists overlooked—just as young James had growing doubts about scientific naturalism. Here was a very tangible version of a young pragmatist finding intellectual merit and insight among indigenous people, outlooks philosopher Scott Pratt has identified as "native pragmatism."[49]

Trying on Natural History

In addition to measuring out his differences with Agassiz, James also continued puzzling about his career choices. On the day before he set sail to Brazil, he wondered if Agassiz would give him a clue "about my fate." James earnestly resolved that the trip would be a voyage of self-discovery: "I said to myself before I came away: 'W.J., in this excursion you will learn to know yourself and your resources somewhat more intimately than you do now, and will come back with your character considerably evolved and established.'" While he could not yet define a particular career, he was looking for some vocational direction, at least by discovering what he did not want to do. He found out that most of the work would be "mechanical, finding objects & packing them," with little time for "studying their structure." To make matters worse, in early May James developed a mild form of small-



Head of Alexandrina.

William James's Huck Finn Moment.

Agassiz and Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (1868), 245, 246, and xviii.

Louis and Elizabeth Cary Agassiz included a drawing by William James of one their local helpers, only identified as Alexandrina, in the account they wrote about their natural history expedition to Brazil in 1865–66. Despite Louis Agassiz's eagerness to show that the nonwhites of Brazil were inferior to Europeans, he relied on many of these "inferior" people as vital resources for collecting local samples, and young James drew a portrait of Alexandrina, one of their most reliable assistants. In their account, the Agassizes treat her hair as an "extraordinary" natural find and assured their readers that James's drawing "is in no way exaggerated." In fact, her "wiry elasticity . . . stood six inches beyond the shoulders each way." Their constant search for racial inferiorities in Brazil, culminating with the image of Alexandrina looking "as if electrified," prompted Louis Menand's elegant ridicule, "They found hierarchy in hair" (*Metaphysical Club*, 136). By contrast, in his portrait, James clearly displays the native woman's dignity and intelligence, with even some hints of sadness or anger. It was a Huck Finn moment with James wordlessly defying his teacher's racist assumptions and Alexandrina's knowing eyes defying the words surrounding her in the Agassiz book.

pox, which dampened whatever enthusiasm flourished at the start. Although he would feel better by mid-June, the disease gave him "red tubercles," which left his face with "the appearance of an immense ripe raspberry," and an ongoing sensitivity in his eyes. He thought of his attending doctor as "a perfect brick," which did not raise his confidence about the diagnosis or about mainstream medicine in general. In the near term, however, the most direct impact was on his mood. He wrote glumly to his family that "my coming was a mistake."[50]

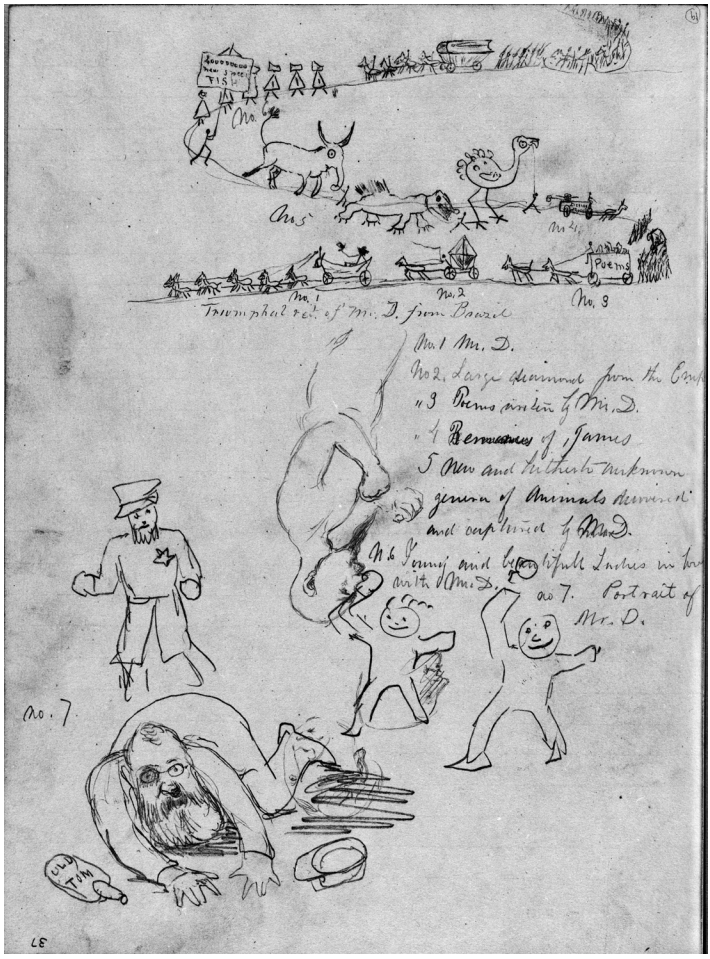
James's mood and health mingled with his vocational questions, as the field work convinced him that "I am cut out for a speculative rather than an active life." Remembering his discussions at home, especially with Charles Peirce and other friends, and his wide reading back in Cambridge, he even specified, for the first time in so many words, that "when I get home I'm going to study philosophy all my days." And he also recalled his 1858 worry about "working in the wrong direction": he now pledged to avoid work that was "not in my path and was so much waste of life." Still, he realized that some edification could come in a hard-won way, even "through some great mistake"; problems, after all, could be learning opportunities—learning "through . . . individual experience."[51] He would have plenty more opportunities to learn from his troubles in the next few years, and experience would continue to be a teacher to his own development and his philosophical speculations.

James's feelings about the trip also sharpened his vocational thinking: "I shall learn next to nothing of natural history as I care about learning it." Like his father, James had high hopes with the study of nature, but in Brazil, by contrast, "the affair reduces itself thus to so many months spent in physical exercise." He vented his frustrations with Agassiz's directives to collect Amazonian creatures in encyclopedic abundance by mockingly proclaiming that they had gathered "4,00000000000 new species [of] fish." He portrayed this ballooned number, 40 trillion, on a banner in a cartoon sketch that also included "new and hitherto unknown genera of animals," each one specially created. James was spoofing Agassiz's tendency to "split" or group subtle variations into distinct species in contrast with Darwinians, who generally regarded different individuals as varieties within species, and thus as indicators of stages in evolution. Despite his disagreements with Agassiz, James was still interested in natural science, but he wanted more reflections on methods and implications rather than the "mechanical . . . work" of

a field naturalist.[52] It was just these reflections on methods that would become important for his philosophy.

Despite his problems with day-to-day natural history, James stayed with the expedition, and after his recovery from smallpox, he hoped that "I shall have materially a better time." In addition to working regularly in the field, he wrote notes and letters back home full of reports about Brazilian society, the luxuriant Amazonian landscape, and the "several billion mosquitoes and flies" that followed them everywhere in the tropics. For example, he observed that despite the "fertility of the country," the residents often lived without a "sufficient stock of food." And yet, they poured out generosity; at a missionary settlement, the "mother cooked our dinners," and he complemented the "handsome family of nearly white god children," so called, he added slyly, "from courtesy to the cloth." By the last months, he was genuinely enjoying the trip, both because he was "doing and gaining so much" practical scientific study and because it was a genuinely exotic adventure. Still, for all his excitement about the landscape and culture, he largely remained a spectator. In his frustration, he would grow depressed, such as when he opened one letter with the words, "Woe is me." But he did not dwell there, going on to explain "I have gone through a good deal of blueness so far produced by my sickness." Once feeling better, he was "beginning to see that the voyage has been an excellent thing for me & [I] enjoy it more and more every day." His mood also received a boost after meeting a group of Spanish explorers; James said, "[N]ever had I seen a more shaggy, stained, weather-beaten, jaundiced set of men. . . . Besides their travels our expedition seemed like a holiday picnic." Through his ups and downs, he kept writing letters and taking notes of his observations, and he even scolded himself for falling "behind . . . 4 days" in his work. Still, he was convinced that "collecting [is not] suited to my genius at all," but even that insight made the "exercise . . . better for me."[53] Through the drudgery, he was gaining an intimate feel for the practice and methods of scientific research and, more broadly, was coming to appreciate the constructive aspects of even negative experiences.

Scientific research and reflective speculation were not the only fields that beckoned on this expedition; lush and colorful jungle settings reminded him of his earlier interest in painting. He noted the beauty around him with a painter's eye and an artist's sense of the limits of verbal expression—quite literally, as he blurted out, "No words, but only savage inarticulate cries, can express the gorgeous loveliness of the walk I have been taking. Houp



A Staggering Number of New Species in Brazil.

[The Winding Caravan of New Species in Brazil], William James papers, bMS Am 1092.9 (4498). Courtesy of Bay James and Houghton Library, Harvard University.

During his travel with Louis Agassiz's natural history expedition to Brazil in 1865–66, William James not only gained a deep appreciation for the importance of fact gathering but also spoofed his teacher's anti-Darwinian tendency to identify new species in every new variety and in each distinct landscape. By contrast, Charles Darwin, in his theory of species development, first publicly explained in 1859, depicted varieties as stages in evolutionary development. In this sketch, James depicts one of his team of natural history collectors holding a sign reading "4,00000000000 [40 trillion] new species [of] fish." Another scientist made a similar joke, saying that he hesitated to attend an Agassiz lecture lest he "take me for a new species!" (quoted in *Eclipse*, 120, n. 37).

lala." Here was an exuberant version of his belief in the "ever not quite" of philosophical expressions. He did, however, find words for an artistic description of a place he dubbed the "Original Seat of Garden of Eden": "The hills on both sides and the path descend rapidly to the shores of a large lagoon separated by a forest-clad strip of land from the azure sea, whose surf I can hear continuously roaring at this distance." Along with the popular images of the South American tropics as modern vestiges of the world as originally created, Agassiz tried to convert these sentiments into science, with the extravagant scenes and his own idealistic hopes spurring his anti-Darwinian drive. James the artist would have appreciated the way many landscape painters were drawn to the southern continent and other tropical places to find real-life expressions for the sublime reaches of their imaginations. The painters were, like Agassiz, generally anti-Darwinian and hoped their work would convince viewers to rest assured about the created harmony and providential assurances of even the most grand and awesome natural settings. The idealistic theories and close attention to detail of Louis Agassiz were well suited to the artistic imagination—even more so than much of the scientific work of his youth—and many painters even studied with the great science teacher at his science school in Nahant, Massachusetts, with the result that many canvases included polished images, like the pages of a geology text, and like the sweeping generalizations of Agassiz himself. James's ready adoption of this language about Brazil's "[n]ature [as] an earthly paradise" shows his immersion in this perspective as a way of seeing aesthetically; even his science did not eclipse his humanist impulses, but it also kept him wary of such idealism. He saw in Elizabeth Agassiz an example of her husband's idealism removing science from empirical scrutiny: she "looks at everything in such an unnatural romantic light that she don't seem to walk upon the solid earth." James did not reject these glowing images of nature—on the contrary, they gave him an artistic thrill, as the joyful parts of natural facts.[54] Like religion and philosophy, art referred to immaterial dimensions of natural experiences, experiences he sought to understand not apart from science but in relation to its naturalistic inquiries.

Brazil was a vast studio of luscious beauty, and James saw sights at almost every turn that tempted him to return, at least vicariously, to his first vocation of painting. In a notebook he kept during the trip, he exclaimed: "O to be a big painter for here was a big subject! Nothing could be more simple. The plain beach, the red West, the giant trunks with their crooked crowns & roots (the largest could not have been less than 20 feet in circumference)

the immense eddying stream & the thin far off line of forest. It was as grand and lonely as could be." During this period, some of his compatriots, including Church as well as Albert Bierstadt, Martin Johnson Heade, and Louis Mignot, were pushing landscape painting to new limits by going to just such grand and lonely places in the American West, South America, and all around the world to capture sublime images on canvass. For James, however, their example and his own enthusiasm were mixed with his urge to be a great, "a big painter" or to abandon the field. Although he had abandoned art as a profession, these artistic impulses painted his imagination; he became an artist of words. And he associated his scientific inquiries with art because they both involve close attention to concrete natural facts; compared to the "abstract study" of his speculations, science like art was "like standing on one's feet after having been on one's head."[55]

The beauty of nature also stimulated James's thinking about its profound vitality—very extravagant in the rain forests of Brazil. With the tremendous "affluence of nature," the "vegetation invades everything" with luxuriant and graceful ease. He was particularly impressed that the human-made things were no match for the persistent tropical growth; for example, the "moss grows on every wall . . . and weds what is artificial to what is natural"—one simple form of dualism blurred. The total effect was "particularly vivid," especially compared with "the colorless state of things at home." His education from his father had given him reasons to think of the potent forces embedded in nature on spiritual terms. Recently, however, those feelings had dissipated; scientific study had turned nature into a clinical object, so that "my enjoyment of nature had entirely departed." But in Brazil, surrounded by a "bewildering profusion and confusion of vegetation [and] the inexhaustible variety of its form and tints," nature's power can "overwhelm [even] the coarsest apprehension." Far from his family, reflecting on the richness embedded in the landscape and musing on ways to depict it, James was discovering that he could think about his father's spirituality on his own terms—such self-assertion could feel lonely, but with some grand potential. After these sober observations, he concluded with an irreverent description of nature's primeval power: it "makes you admire the old Gal nature"—a sentiment about the vitality of nature, even with an intimate familiarity of expression that he would continue to use for the rest of his life.[56]

The expedition to Brazil did more than provide James with valuable vocational and intellectual lessons. It also made him severely homesick. After a few months of hard labor, he wrote home that he was "pining after books

and study," and in particular, "I pine for some conversation of an intellectual character. . . . Would I might hear Father[']s on F[aith] and Sc[ience] . . . , would I might hear Chauncey Wright philosophize for one evening"—he felt an appetite for both, despite the contrast of their intellectual orientations toward spiritualism and scientific empiricism, respectively. Toward the end of the trip, in a letter to his mother, he exclaimed, "I thrill with joy when I think that one short month and we are homeward bound. . . . Welcome my native slosh and ice and cast-iron stoves, magazines, theatres, friends and everything!" and, persistently irreverent about traditional religion he added, "even churches!" His homesickness deepened with memories of "people swarming about as they do at home, killing themselves with thinking about things that have no connection with their merely external circumstances." He continued with a flippant description of his fellow intellectuals "studying themselves into fevers, going mad about religion, philosophy, love and sich [*sic*], breathing perpetual heated gas and excitement, turning night into day." That scene seemed so far away, so "incredible and imaginary—and yet I only left it eight months ago." He concluded with a flush of enthusiasm for his father: "I never knew what he was to me before, and feel as if I could talk to him night and day for a week running."[57] If the philosophical talk of his father had seemed a bit tiresome before leaving home, his removal made him eager to hear more—especially since he was surrounded by extravagant examples of just the kind of powerful forces within the physical world that his father proposed. He would get ample opportunity to hear more because he would spend much of the next ten years in his father's house.

Upon his return from Brazil in early 1866, James resumed the study of medicine, but in a very desultory manner, explaining to Tom Ward, his friend from the trip, that "it was some time before I could get settled down to reading." In place of work, James admitted, "I spent the first month of my return in nothing but 'social intercourse' having the two Temple girls & Elly Van Buren in the house for a fortnight & being obliged to escort them about to parties &c. nearly every night."[58] After these flirtations (with cousins), he resumed his long-neglected study of medicine. He was too late to enroll for the spring semester, but he did study on his own, and he worked at Massachusetts General Hospital. James's practical experience gave him direct access to the work of doctors for a few months from the spring of 1866 until the middle of the summer. Medicine continued to appeal to him as a path of compromise. In 1863, it seemed the way to mediate the twin tugs of vocational stability and the uncertainties of a scientific career; by 1866, it seemed more

like a compromise between the practical factuality of science and the reflective generalities of philosophy.

Still unsure about his future, James would study medicine, but he also wanted to figure out how to implement his ideals. "I really want to know how the building up into flesh and blood of the widesweeping plans that the solitudes of Brazil gave birth to," he added in the same letter to Ward, "seems to alter them." Before the trip to Brazil, James trained in medicine while dabbling in philosophy; but while there, he first imagined philosophy as a vocation. During his first months back home, James was uncertain on both fronts, "having been in a pretty unsettled theoretical condition." In another letter to Ward, he even mocked himself, as if his philosophizing could ever present "the last word on the Kosmos and the human soul," and yet this impatience with philosophy because of the limits of theory would actually become a keynote of his philosophy.[59] He was already noticing that philosophizing could provide some cosmological direction and even some vocational direction on the science and medicine he was studying.

Toward a Program of the Future of Science

Even before going on his trip to Brazil, James was starting to wrestle with major scientific issues of the time. With his wide reading outside his medical studies, he briefly considered writing a review of Max Müller's work on the evolution of language, but he felt "diffident about that, as I know hardly anything abt. the subject." Turning from avocational reading to a text in his own field, he reviewed Thomas Huxley's *Lectures on the Elements of Comparative Anatomy*. His immediate purpose was to enhance his understanding of anatomy and, of course, gain some status from publication. In addition, his first turn from private to public writing gave him a chance to make some open declarations of his reflections on science that he had been musing on in his notebooks and in discussions with friends. And so he wrote the review on two levels: most simply, as a scientific review of a book in his field and, more dramatically, as a critique of Huxley's naturalistic philosophy. In keeping with this growing inclination for reflections, he maintained that the latter, broader goal was "more valuable & more interesting"; but, adding with keen awareness of the intellectual currents around him, "I feel like using [the] *perfect respectability*" of the more technical, scientific parts of the review "as a shield."[60] Mainstream science as a way to maintain respectability was just what his father had hoped for when endorsing William's scientific course of study four years before.

James first had the idea about reviewing Huxley in September 1864 shortly after he had transferred to the medical school. In keeping with the vocational impulse that would culminate in the trip to Brazil, he wrote the editor of the *North American Review*, Charles Eliot Norton, that "I sh[oul]d prefer to write on some subject connected with Biology." While he was gaining professional expertise in the sciences adjunct to medicine, he debated on paper about the need to balance "a short explanation [for] the unlearned" versus an "analysis of the book addressed to the initiated." In place of choosing one side, James enlisted both approaches, showing an openness to different points of view and also a readiness to vary his writing style for different audiences. He began the Huxley review with praise for the book as "a comprehensive, systematic work" and acknowledged his "valuable contributions to almost every province of anatomical science." This would be his shield of respectability before launching on the broader evaluations of Huxley's assumptions and their implications.[61]

James used the review essay as a platform for a distinction between "the two great intellectual tendencies" of philosophical thought ever since "men began to speculate," the synthetic (he called the advocates for this "synthetists") and the analytic. This distinction echoes the familiar differences between Plato and Aristotle, along with the terms as used by Kant, and it also forecasts the "two types of mental make-up," the "tender-minded" rationalists and the "tough-minded" empiricists that James would use years later to frame the mediations of *Pragmatism*. He was already using the terms in this broad, less technical way: "[T]he synthetists are theorists, who require their knowledge to be organized into some sort of a unity," while "the analysts are actualists, who are quite contented to know things as isolated and individual." James was able to offer a surprising twist on Huxley's reputation as an avid man of factual science: in addition to the clear analytical qualities in his thorough coverage of anatomy, the combative British anatomist and scientific popularizer had the heart of a synthesizer, ready to transcend the empirical in his very zeal for scientific truth.[62]

These synthetic tendencies emerged most forcefully in Huxley's "faith in the doctrine of Transmutation of Species." James noticed that this commitment to Darwinism led to the application of the theory "even unto majestic man," which in turn aroused fierce objections, but ones that produced little sympathy in James because this anti-Darwinist position manifested as a kind of "aristocratic prejudice" drawing upon bruised and defensive worries about humanity's claim to a dignified pedigree. Later that year, in the

Amazon jungle, face-to-face with a spider monkey, James found vivid confirmation of the kinship of humans and other animals, even in personality and emotion, just as Darwin suggested. Yet such scientific confirmation did not lead him toward zealous endorsement of Darwinism; instead, he argued in the spirit of his teacher Wyman that "it behooves us at any rate to examine a little into its grounds." James was confident that with further inquiry, the theory of natural selection was "destined eventually to prevail." His cautious tone stood in sharp contrast to Huxley's approach, with his "love of coming rapidly to a definite settlement of every question, deciding either Yes or No." Even worse, "with all opponents," he adopted a "uniformly rude, and even malignant, tone." James concluded that "it is a state of things discreditable to Science, when . . . people go to Professor Huxley's lecture-room with somewhat of the same spirit as that with which they would flock to a prize-fight."[63]

Beyond his objections on matters of tone, James also took issue with the way Huxley used the "battering-ram" of anatomy to assert that the "phenomena of life . . . result directly from the general laws of matter." The British scientist turned away from identifying himself as a materialist, but in his evaluation of the "Physical Basis of Life" (1868), he showed preference for "materialist terminology . . . because physical conditions are accessible to us" and "help us exercise . . . control over the world." James's critique was directed against such reduction of life to its material components, but this did not extend to rejection of a belief in the "the Self-Competency of Nature." He observed its "atheistic . . . tendency," calmly noting that such a proposition "causes alarm to many excellent people." He himself noticed its shortcomings because "the theory leaves much of our moral experience unaccounted for," and as he had observed in his notebooks, such exclusive focus on natural facts is better at answering questions of "*How?*" rather than questions of "*Why?*" However, he added that such a naturalistic view may "prove to be a necessary step in the way to a larger, purer view of the Supernatural." James offered a speculative "prophecy," which was laced with the spirituality of his father: instead of assuming nature's difference from the supernatural, which persisted even among those who sought mediation of these distinct realms, "we shall be driven to look for final causes on some deeper plane underlying the whole of Nature," suggesting ultimate meanings embedded within the natural world. This panentheistic idea resembled his father's empirical spirituality and suggested that his inquiries in science would reinforce spiritual insights because "both sides," the scientific and the

religious, would be "satisfied [with] the exclusively naturalistic tendency of modern thought."[64]

When he sent a draft of his Huxley essay to Norton, James suggested that his "analytico-synthetical disquisition," with his critique of scientific confidence and his search for purposes deep in nature, were part of his "Program of the Future of Science." Bypassing both scientific materialism and traditional religion, this review offered a portrait of his own scientific hopes; by contrast, "the poor foolish public has been gulled so long by these clap-trap affairs" of Huxley's brand of scientific program, and so "it was worth while [*sic*] to speak a little severely of them."[65] The program for science that James described in 1865 would include endorsement of the naturalism central to science without reduction to materialist ingredients, as well as confidence that such work could actually support spiritual perspectives.

James addressed another Darwinian in his review of Alfred Russel Wallace's 1864 *Anthropology Review* article, "The Origin of Human Races and the Antiquity of Man deduced from the theory of 'Natural Selection.'" The British explorer and scientist, who independently developed the theory of natural selection, discussed polygenesis and monogenesis, the contrasting theories of the separate creation or descent of human races versus their common heritage. Although he did not mention Agassiz in his review, his teacher was a leading example of a "polygenist," who argued for the "original diversity of mankind" with a "permanence of human types" manifest in separate races. James was more persuaded by Wallace's proposition that natural selection can account for the "divergence of types" varying from a common stock, the basis for the British scientist's "monogenist" position. But James acknowledged that from "any former epoch" of mankind polygenists can find at least some evidence of the same "well marked varieties" of present races. With such evidence, polygenist views lent scientific respectability to the racist theories of Southern nationalists Samuel Morton and Josiah Nott in defense of slavery. But, instead, James supported the "theory of Natural Selection [which] supplies an answer to . . . the polygenists." While selective pressure can readily explain the origins of humanity in general over enormous stretches of time, James following Wallace maintained that the origins of human differences such as racial traits can also be explained by "change in a comparatively short space of time," which undercut belief in the separate creation of races.[66] James supported monogenesis based on his pursuit of the evidence and in defiance of the ideologies of racial hierarchy. Those natural facts from science would be

his starting point for addressing the moral questions about human differences.

"Social and sympathetic" interactions in historic times meant, as James observed in the Wallace review, that, for the human animal, "the causes of variation are no longer active." With "division of labor . . . and mutual assistance, . . . the action of natural selection is therefore checked." Thanks to humane cultural standards, "the weaker, the dwarfish, those of less active limbs or less piercing eyesight, do not suffer the extreme penalty which falls upon animals so defective" by brute natural standards. So, while other animals have changed "in their whole structure, . . . man's body will have remained . . . the same, while his . . . brain alone will have undergone modification." That human distinction, the sophistication of human intellect, which has allowed adaptation to global geographic diversity, has in turn encouraged racial differentiation. Here is biological unity of the human race, while culturally "man . . . adapts himself to his new circumstances, for the most part by his intellect alone." For Wallace, the sophistication of the human mind suggested that natural selection was limited to human bodies, as with selective pressure at work in the rest of nature, but he insisted that humanity's "intellectual superiority" shows the impress of forces beyond natural selection. James disagreed. Wallace used the distinctiveness of the human mind to propose its exemption from evolution. James used the same human distinctiveness, which he had already evaluated in comparison with the spider monkey, to argue that humanity's intellectual superiority, with all its powers of selective attention and array of subjective interests, is indeed the product of evolution and contributes to adaptation and survival. James not only disagreed with Wallace on human intellect and thoroughly defied Agassiz's type of polygenist science generally but also considered some speculations that even went beyond Darwin: "Why may there not be . . . some principle as fertile as Natural Selection, or more so, to make up for its insufficiency (if insufficiency there be) in accounting for all organic change?" Even as he endorsed Darwinism, James could not treat it as a fixed absolute; further facts and insights, and further scientific inquiry as he was witnessing more from Wyman than from Agassiz, might produce yet further scientific innovation.[67] Just as James's response to Huxley showed his commitment to naturalism without materialism, so his Program of Future Science would also include, as displayed in his review of Wallace, an endorsement of scientific inquiry without expectations of its certainty.

After the Amazon expedition, James continued his medical studies, his wide-ranging reading, and his study of physiology in Germany starting in 1867. Reflections in the midst of exposure to cultural differences on three continents spurred his 1868 commentary on "The Progress of Anthropology." In this review of Armand de Quatrefages's *Rapport sur les progrès de l'anthropologie en France*, he noted that the facts gathered in the field are "as yet in almost ludicrously small quantity," with a "large portion so uncertain that they are liable any day to correction or contradiction"; and so, as with his critique of Huxley, he lamented that the author's tone was "rather more that of an advocate than of a judge." Returning to "the question of the original unity ('Monogenism') or diversity ('Polygenism') of our species," James noted that the scientific controversy had spilled over into "general popular interest," an understatement for the racial debates that competing scientific theories amplified. He focused on the role of religion in these controversies, expressing disappointment that they had become inflamed by "zeal for and against orthodoxy." Despite the insistence of religious traditionalists, James was convinced with Darwin "beyond doubt . . . that man existed at an age remoter than the greyest antiquity which tradition records"; and despite Wallace's challenges, he was already persuaded by "the applications . . . of Darwin's hypothesis to man." However, James did not use his Darwinism to critique religion but instead to support an inquiring approach to science in contrast with the "absurd broth of dogmatism on both sides." The French anthropologist offered a case in point: his "vast range of special information" added to scientific understanding, but James found his absolute conviction of "the truth of the monogenistic conception" merely a "brilliant piece of pleading"—a particularly ardent example of his distaste for certainties considering that he even endorsed the same theory himself. Insisting on a method that left scientific theories open to correction, James maintained that, "until further proofs compel us," he would rather see science "refrain, . . . from the dismal croaking in which so many writers have indulged," including he added in light mockery, with "4fage's" book. Instead, patient inquiry shows "how extremely cautious one must be in generalizing."[68] He was already interpreting his scientific education on his own terms.

In the years after his return from Brazil, while working on his medical degree, James kept exploring Darwinist ideas. He was so eager to review Darwin's latest book, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*, that he composed two separate essays in 1868. James wrote that this

new book forms "the first considerable instal[l]ment of that more detailed evidence in support of Mr. Darwin's theory of Natural Selection, which he announced in the 'Origin of Species' to be in course of preparation." With his own perception of the limits of theorizing, James appreciated Darwin's cautious path: "Whatever may be thought of his generalizations, no one can deny to the author the merit of painstaking and conscientious industry in the accumulation of facts." Even as he remained committed to the gathering of evidence, James admired "the instinctive guesses of men of genius and large practical experience." The genius of Darwin was the "bold surmise and delicate ingenuity" of his theory, but "in the present state of science, it seems impossible to bring it to an experimental test."[69] Even genius should not sanction certainty.

Without proof, James maintains, the theory of natural selection "at best helps to accumulate a probability." With this recognition that Darwin's theory was not provable but highly probable, James distinguished himself from both antagonists and enthusiastic supporters of evolution. Philosophical reflection during scientific study prompted his impulses to examine the method embedded within the theory, in particular, "the nature of the reasoning on which Darwin's hypothesis is based." He proposes that "it is nowhere of strictly logical cogency, for the conclusions drawn from certain premises are assumed in their turn as true, in order to make those same premises seem more probable." In addition to Darwinism's methodological elusiveness, it also reveals basic difficulties of fact gathering: "Perhaps from the very nature of the case, and the enormous spaces of time in question, it may never be any more possible to give a physically strict proof of it, complete in every link." While detractors and supporters of Darwinism would debate the truth or falsehood of the theory, James praises natural selection for its usefulness: "[T]he great value of the hypothesis [is] in setting naturalists to work, and sharpening their eyes for new facts and revelations." James was therefore satisfied with "the present book" because like Darwin's earlier work, it "harrows and refreshes, as it were, the whole field of which it treats." His conclusion anticipates modern support for theories establishing research programs: "[I]t is doubtless provisional, but none the less serviceable for that." Such plausible theories, based on facts, generate "fit matter for [still more] investigation," while, by contrast, the anti-Darwinians "veto . . . the research in advance." Despite the unprovability of Darwin's theory, James found it convincing and persuasive, especially in comparison with the spiritual science of Agassiz; he even said that "the more I think of Dar-

win's ideas the more weighty do they appear to me" and, by contrast "I *believe* that that scoundrel Aggassiz [*sic*] is unworthy either intellectually or morally for him to wipe his shoes on."[70] With its probabilistic truths and practical applications, Darwinism supplied James with a model for future science not tethered to materialist (or idealistic) assumptions; and for him and other members of the Metaphysical Club, these methods offered key ingredients for pragmatic thinking and still more philosophical reflection.

During William James's first embrace of science in the 1860s, he was not only studying many different fields but also learning the ways of rigorous scientific inquiry, with keen fidelity to facts and careful application of method. In the midst of his studies, however, he was more immediately concerned with the difficulties of vocational choice. He sometimes felt he was just rummaging through one field after another, even though his diverse studies would gradually add up to a broad scientific education in chemistry, physics, anatomy, medicine, physiology, and psychology—and a still-wider education from extensive learning outside science, especially philosophy. The diversity of his education gave him not only the expertise that would earn him respect in a world where science was gaining greater authority but also a critical perspective on science in general. His friend Charles Peirce observed that even in his young adulthood James was at once "deeply read in the old Philosophies" and "thoroughly a scientific man."[71] From his reading, reflection, and discussions with Peirce and others, James brought these strands of his education together with speculation about the limits of scientific certainty and formulation of practical ways to make abundant use of science without those certainties.

For all his immersion in the work and thinking of science, James did not abandon the assumptions of his father. The self-competency of nature, reinforced by the practice of scientific work on natural facts, suggested aspects of nature that could not be reduced to its materialist components. His scrutiny of nature suggested that matter, as his father believed, was not simply "material." In his early private writings, in his natural history field work, and especially in his first review essays, he began to express his own program for science, which included mastery of scientific method and fact gathering, practical use of science rather than focus on its iconic certainty, and hopes for new forms of rigorous investigation into nature that would be wedded to neither religious faith nor scientific materialism.

The scientific education that James began so idealistically at the urging of his father had taken on a life of its own so that by the middle 1860s, he was thoroughly in the embrace of natural science, even as his approaches included awareness of its limits and abundant use of science despite its lack of certainty. Within his scientific studies, his focus on medicine, with its healing potentials, kindled the "feeling of philanthropy in wh. we [he and his father] both indulge."[72] As he worked toward his M.D. in 1869, James also encountered another version of the tensions he had encountered since he had started studying science. The medicine of his professional education was becoming increasingly comfortable with a materialist brand of science, especially as innovations in clinic and laboratory brought hopes for improved diagnoses and treatment. By contrast, sectarian medical therapies, practiced widely, including in the James family, provided pictures of health also based on bodily facts but without reduction to materialist terms. In other words, its practitioners were critical of materialist medicine in the same way he was critical of materialist science. What William James was learning in his classes clashed directly with the implicit medical curriculum of his family's sectarian therapies.

Between Scientific and Sectarian Medicine

> If we are doctors, our mind-cure sympathies, if we are mind-curists, our medical sympathies, are tied up.
>
> William James, 1906

In October 1867, William James set his intellectual sights on Germany. Part way through his medical training in Cambridge, and with the first glimmerings of interest in psychology, he was eager to add greater understanding of physiology. German scientists, including Emil du Bois-Reymond, Hermann von Helmholtz, Karl Ludwig, and Wilhelm Wundt, were producing pioneering insights into the bodily functions that shape mind and behavior. In order to comprehend the new physiological psychology, James immersed in the language to allow him to read the German texts and attend lectures. For the first few months, he could "get no end of German" to prepare for his scientific studies; then he hoped to work in a laboratory for still more concrete physiological understanding.[1] *But his poor health stood in the way. He suffered from poor digestion, eye and back troubles, and frequent discouragement that intruded on his intellectual ambitions. So this young scientist, keen to learn cutting-edge physiological science, turned to sectarian medicine.*

Before heading to Berlin for his studies, James visited Teplitz, in Austrian Bohemia near Dresden, where he repeatedly returned for the support of its water cure during his eighteen months in Europe. These were not sojourns to a leisurely spa, but earnest efforts to find health improvement so he could return to his intellectual tasks. And he threw himself into the regimen of hydropathy, the name that health-care practitioners used to describe their deliberate investigations of the salubrious effects of water in many forms, at different temperatures, in different amounts at different times, and with internal and external use. Water cures served as James's filling stations, where he would get strength for doing his work, and then those very efforts would set his health back, requiring his return to the water cure.

In late January 1868, he was still suffering from his "old dorsal tricks," and Teplitz offered bathing, douching, mud baths, and other "sanatory exercises," including a poultice that "smells like tar." He described, a typical day at the water-cure spa in a letter to his fellow student of physiology Henry Bowditch: "I bathe 20 minutes at 104 [degrees] Fahr[enheit], have a douche 5 minutes of a slightly lower temperature, and ½ an hour's mud-poultice as hot as I can bear"; he combined these precise treatments with long walks, mild foods, and plenty of rest. And with scientific generalizations beyond his own situation, he pointed out the therapeutic benefits of water cure "for gout, chronic muscular rheumatism," and even for "troubles of the connective tissue whether traumatic or not." In explaining the specific purposes of these therapies, his words could have been written by a water-cure practitioner explaining "congestion" and the need to expel unhealthy matter from the body: the baths "remove 'exudations' f[ro]m sprained joints, old wounds &c, like a charm, and are likewise of value in some nervous diseases." While embracing the water-cure treatment, James kept reading, "chiefly nerve-physiology," while hoping he could gain enough health "to get doing some laboratory work this summer." Bowditch was completing his own M.D. at Harvard and making plans for a similar European research trip after his graduation in May 1868. James asked about his friend's "progress with the microscope" and even provided an insider's recommendation about which books provided the most facts in "simple German," and which to postpone reading because they were like "molasses waist deep." To young William James, there was no contradiction in reading physiology texts while practicing sectarian medicine—and, in fact, each practice might provide insights for the other.[2]

In 1866, even after five years of scientific study, William James was still perplexed about his career path. His study of chemistry, anatomy, physiology, and natural history had convinced him that he was deeply drawn to learning from the sciences, but he did not picture himself working long term in any one of these fields. His private writings and discussions and the expedition to Brazil had convinced him of his appetite for theoretical inquiries, which were starting to give expression to his impatience with the materialism of scientific investigation, even as he was attracted to the concrete practicality of scientific work. His vocational questions presented his first attempts to mediate strongly compelling but contrasting positions, with careful consideration of each major interest; he resolved to continue his philosophical reflections, but as an avocation. Physiological study would al-

low him to apply his speculative appetites to his fledgling interests in psychology, just as this field was itself becoming a science; and medicine would offer a practical setting for the study of physiology. The healing profession provided still more and deeper opportunities for mediation of his interests; he would pursue both the scientific medicine in his schooling and the practice of alternative sectarian healing for his own health care. Rather than choosing either scientific or sectarian medicine exclusively, James would learn from both.

The only degree James ever received was his M.D. from Harvard, which he earned in June 1869. Given his desultory path to the medical doctorate, it is tempting to view his medical career as an insignificant way station toward his well-known work, beginning with psychology in the next decade. And since he earned the degree about the same time he endured his deepest personal and intellectual discouragements, his encounter with medicine can seem like an accident of early misdirected vocational choices. These, in fact, are the main messages of the conventional wisdom about James during these years. He never practiced medicine anyway, so how important could an M.D. have been to him? He himself inaugurated this view as he approached completion of the degree when he said with characteristic understatement, "I am ashamed of the fewness of the medical facts I know." And he added flatly upon receiving his degree, "I . . . am entitled to write myself M.D., if I choose"—something he hardly ever did—"so there is one epoch of my life closed," while he announced his "intellectual hunger now-a-days [for] psychological subjects." James's own son offered a dismissive interpretation of his father's medical education, and relatively few records survive from these years; for example, there is no extant copy of his medical thesis.[3]

Yet James's medical education gave him his first clear professional focus, and it was the immediate setting for his steps into familial and intellectual independence. He was glad for its "general educational value," because it enabled him, as he said with a keen social awareness that his social reformer father would appreciate, "to see a little the inside workings of an important profession & to learn fm. it as an average example, how all the work of human society is performed."[4] Intellectually, it was the field that bridged his study of the material facts of chemistry and anatomy with his work evaluating life and consciousness in his personal and philosophical reflections and, more tangibly, in physiology and psychology. In vocational and personal terms, it provided his first exposure to work at asylums for the

insane, at a time when his depression and uncertainties would sometimes make him worry about his own mental stability. In addition, his medical studies took place while he was in transition from residence at home to an independent life. The field of medicine was the launching place for his career.

Studying in a medical school meant departing from his family's assumptions since the field was a key zone of transition toward the increased authority of scientific materialism. Medical training was James's way of studying physiology; the laboratory research of that work immersed him in increasingly materialistic assumptions about nature. Even as his studies pulled him toward the scientific part of the medical profession and gave him a professional platform for his future psychological work, healing had a very different meaning in the James family, whose members practiced a range of nonmainstream therapies, especially the sectarian systems of hydropathy and homeopathy, that were widely popular at the time. These alternative medicines had much in common with his curiosity for spirituality and alternative mental conditions beyond the chemistry, physics, and anatomy that he was learning in his schooling, even as those sectarian medicines also relied on natural facts. He could neither fully accept nor wholly reject all these unorthodoxies, but he also felt the same way about mainstream scientific medicine. They each laid claim to nature, even as they defined its character in different ways. His early work in medicine, in both his academic studies and his personal experience, would bring him to another theater of his reflective tensions about the messages of science and religion, and the roles of body and mind, with still more reasons to consider both material and immaterial parts of life in relation.

Medical Science in Clinic and Lab

In the 1860s, medicine was in the midst of a revolution that would lead to the modern scientific character of the mainstream field; and in Cambridge and Germany, James experienced some of the most influential institutional and intellectual developments that would spur these changes. Medicine was shifting from a clinical field to a profession grounded in laboratory science, and the science central to the new medicine was physiology. Young William James looks in retrospect like a troubled soul, ambivalently shifting from field to field in search of vocation and direction. However, a view of his career path from outside his own reflective, often troubled consciousness or from before the takeoff of his celebrated career in the 1870s would include

no surprise for his early choices. After coursework in chemistry and physics, and experience with natural history, he worked in anatomy and physiology, including study in Germany, on the way to his degree in medicine. He was heading toward authoritative understanding of the emerging university-based, research-oriented wing of the healing profession.

James's early medical education was rooted in the French clinical style, which had been strongly influencing American medicine since the early nineteenth century. The initial spurs to the French innovations were the ideologies and experiences of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras: with a nascent democratic professionalism, doctors became at once an educated elite and a group in service to the people; and the massive wars provided ample opportunities to hone surgical and other medical techniques in the urgency of crisis conditions. French doctors overturned previous speculative theories and developed empirical approaches based on careful, clinical observations at the bedsides of injured and sick patients. By the 1830s, French clinics had become the envy of the world, and Paris became a magnet for doctors in training—including many of the teachers at Harvard Medical School, most notably Jeffries Wyman, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Senior, Jacob Bigelow, and Jacob's son Henry Jacob Bigelow.

The French clinics brought great innovations in the practice of medicine, including an insistence on better training in anatomy and pathology, statistical recordkeeping from direct observations, the use of scalpels, and the invention of the stethoscope, all of which extended the doctor's empirical reach, enabling a systematic correlation of symptoms with specific anatomical problems in particular organs, discovered through careful examination of patients or through autopsies after their death. This progress also brought the first steps toward modern commodification of the body, with doctors concentrating on body parts and on disease entities often with neglect of personal attention to the patient as a whole living person. For good or ill, the French clinics encouraged assessment of sickness in terms of uniform diseases rather than as the specific conditions of individuals. The French practices appealed to Americans' keen commitments to Baconian empiricism with careful fact gathering and the avoidance of hasty speculation. While all physicians did not agree with the "French impulse," clinical approaches promised to bring realistic assessments of health and sound bases for therapeutic judgment. Also, clinical analysis depended on the evaluation of numerous patient cases to find patterns, and this coincided with the increasingly probabilistic thinking throughout scientific and social thought.

In all these fields, investigators assumed interchangeable uniformity of parts and counted the prevalence of particular conditions. And just as pre-Darwinian science gradually became tacitly more secular, so clinical medicine, in its eagerness to assess facts and its identification of diseased parts as the causes of particular symptoms, became increasingly materialistic.[5] Whether understood as scientific progress or as strides toward impersonal treatment, these were the working assumptions that James encountered at Harvard Medical School in the 1860s.

More than one thousand Americans studied medicine in Paris from the 1820s to the 1850s. When they returned brimming with enthusiasm for the French empirical observations and analyses, they helped to make clinical practices the norm for mainstream medical practice by midcentury. Still, for all of its epistemological advantages, the French school met with resistance from both unorthodox practitioners and mainstream doctors, because it was perceived to focus too much on diagnosis without enough attention to the doctor's primary duty to heal. Nurtured by the American pride of place distinct from Europe, Americans also put a strong emphasis on the principle of specificity, the medical view that diseases were not uniform entities but were specific to particular people, times, and places. According to this outlook, medical treatment was a highly personalized art, with attention to changes in diseases within individuals or specific circumstances. By contrast, the French offered therapeutic "routinism," with its numerical observation of vast numbers of patients and a seemingly cold view of suffering; many French doctors even seemed downright eager for their patients' deaths to enable autopsies for discovery of the bodily explanation behind the symptoms. Many Americans resisted this moral coldness even as they welcomed French clinical research and diagnostic insights. In fact, throughout the early to middle nineteenth century, mainstream medical therapies remained in general largely unreliable until substantial scientific improvements in the late nineteenth century. James sympathized with this therapeutic skepticism—hence his 1864 comment that "a doctor does more by . . . moral effect" than with the remedy substances themselves.[6] Mainstream medicine remained restless for medical knowledge that would improve healing, with clinical innovations increasingly regarded as only a way station to a brighter therapeutic day.

The French clinics, born in a nation with a strong state and traditions of hierarchy, were in fact difficult to replicate in the United States where there were many fewer formal structures during the early to middle nineteenth

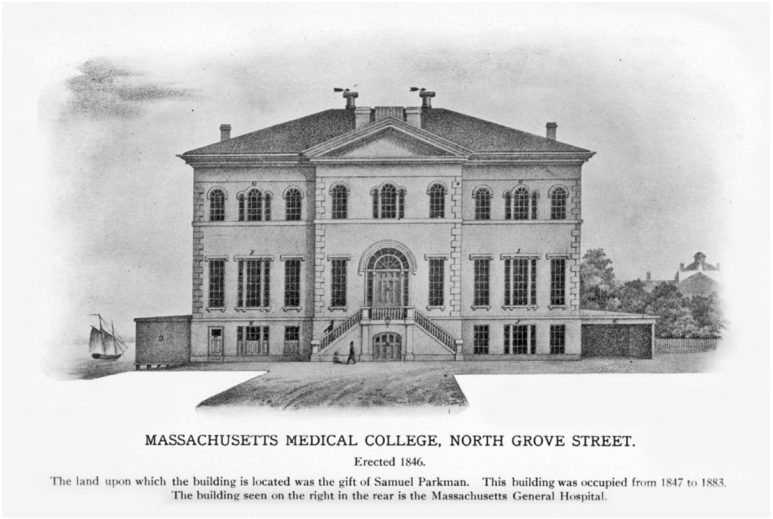
century, including in medical education. On the American scene, most prospective doctors took up an apprenticeship with a practicing physician. While this relationship did lend itself to empirical observation, the rigor or even the attention of the guiding preceptor varied widely, and only a few doctors had ongoing relations with hospitals to allow the apprentices to see many cases. Going to medical school, like going to Paris, was a good status-enhancing supplement to apprenticeship, but it was not a strict requirement for practice. By the end of the eighteenth century, there were only four medical schools in the United States, but after significant growth in the next century, at least seventy were in operation by the 1870s. Because the schools were generally dependent on tuition, they were very sensitive to the wishes of students, and this kept the terms short and the requirements low. With almost no full-time faculty, most schools were commercial enterprises as side businesses for practicing doctors, and the competition for enrollment stiffened so that by midcentury the standards became still lower.[7]

James's education was exceptional since Harvard had many full-time teachers and affiliation with a hospital, the Massachusetts General Hospital, founded in 1821. This medical school and hospital were intimately connected even before many American doctors had returned from France heralding such practice. The medical school associated with Harvard was founded even earlier, in 1782, even though it went by many names and moved many times. It was often called the Massachusetts Medical College until the 1860s when it became widely known as Harvard Medical School. The growing consensus about the name symbolized its closer relation with the rest of the college and medicine's interaction with the sciences in general—just as the Paris clinicians had been insisting—and it was housed in a building immediately adjacent to the general hospital. In the last three decades of the century, with the rise of postgraduate training within research universities, the medical school was still more fully integrated into the university. In fact, the type of teaching across the scientific curriculum and medical school that James experienced became a model for those trends and gave James firsthand experience with them. These professionalizing impulses began with the French innovations, especially the insistence that medical education requires extensive clinical experience and grounding in the biological sciences.[8]

James trained in both of these professional spheres. In classes, he received extensive anatomical training with lectures and laboratory dissection. Returning from Brazil in January 1866 and convinced not to become a

field naturalist, he wanted to add clinical training to his medical studies, so he was "anxious to get into the hospital," that is, as a student to gain practical experience; and he did in fact serve as "acting house surgeon in the Mass. Gen. Hospital." In late 1866, he applied for a longer-term position in the hospital for the next year. However, by the next spring, although he received the "hospital appointment," he sent a formal letter to the trustees of the hospital turning down the position of "Office of House Pupil" explaining that "certain circumstances . . . will render it impossible for me to perform" the hospital job. More specifically, he was eager to go to Germany both to supplement his clinical work with enrichment of his laboratory training in physiology and to study the impact of the nervous system on psychology.[9]

In 1863 James had already displayed substantial interest in the mental health side of "medecine," as he often flippantly misspelled the name of his formal field, and he finally began work in asylums during his medical training. This work, along with his study of physiological psychology in Germany, would become important to his career as a psychologist, but at the time he was unclear about his own vocational direction, and the field of psychology itself had not even formed yet. Learning German physiological laboratory innovations would put him at the cutting edge of medical innovations, much like his peer and friend Henry Bowditch, who started at Harvard Medical School about the same time as James and also added European training in physiology; but Bowditch stayed focused on supporting its emerging status as a science basic to medicine. Harvard appointed him to teach physiology full time in 1871, by splitting the chair that had been for both anatomy and physiology, a step that reflected increased scientific specialization. Through these years, James and Bowditch collaborated closely on physiological investigations, holding out hope, as Bowditch declared with keen faith in scientific progress, that although physiology had as yet made little impact on actual medical therapeutics, "the most fundamental experiments in this direction are yet to be made."[10] Bowditch's career illustrates an emerging trend for the nonpracticing, research-oriented physician—which is tacitly what James himself became in 1869. His training in physiology, which would eventually lead him to psychology, served in the 1860s as preparation for a biological appointment as a teacher of his new specialty. He soon achieved that vocational goal, when Bowditch took a research leave allowing for James's first job, an appointment to teach physiology in the spring of 1873.


MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL COLLEGE, NORTH GROVE STREET.
Erected 1846.
The land upon which the building is located was the gift of Samuel Parkman. This building was occupied from 1847 to 1883.
The building seen on the right in the rear is the Massachusetts General Hospital.

Clinical and Laboratory Study at Harvard Medical School.

Harrington, *The Harvard Medical School* (1905), on the page facing 2:509.

William James's only degree was an M.D. from Harvard Medical School, then often called Massachusetts Medical College. His medical training included both academic laboratory study and clinical work around the corner at Massachusetts General Hospital. This shows James's immersion in two major trends of mainstream medicine; clinical practice dominated through the early nineteenth century, and laboratory work gained greater influence later in the century.

The Promise of Laboratory Medicine

The diagnostic innovations of the Paris clinics were major steps toward scientific medicine, and the trends continued with the first incorporation of physiological laboratory training into medical education in the decades before James took this turn himself. Claude Bernard played a leading role in French efforts to supplement clinical training with physiological investigations based on the chemistry of organic systems; his work offers a prominent example of trends toward materialistic understanding of health and medicine already emerging within clinical practice. Positivist Auguste Comte had put the biological sciences fairly low on the hierarchy of sciences because of the fallibility of self-inquiry into physiological states, although his followers, most notably chemist William Draper, proposed that recent research had allowed physiology's passage from speculation to a positive science. Bernard led the way with his physical and chemical experiments

on organic bodies designed to place the principles of medicine on a firm chemical and physical basis, with fixed laws of physiology identifying the mechanisms of the body's systems. This knowledge offered therapeutic promise through the hope of identifying causes in medical pathology, even though at this point mainstream therapies were still largely unreliable. In his review of Bernard's recent work in 1868, James was both enthused about the new scientific possibilities that the French physiologist's work promised and wary about the still-remote medical therapeutics that would come of this work.[11] The new physiological research was motivated by the proposition that a better understanding of life processes at the cellular level and in their chemical and physical interactions would become crucial tools for understanding the body's health and its diseases, eventually providing therapeutics for innovative cures.

William James gained firsthand encounters with Bernard's laboratory orientation during the 1866–67 school year when Edouard Brown-Séquard brought his colorful lectures, his laboratory equipment, and his cages of animals for physiological investigation to the medical school. The ardent experimentalist had recently been appointed professor of the physiology and pathology of the nervous system at Harvard, but he did not stay long there or anywhere else during his global career. He crossed the Atlantic sixty times, in addition to his trips to and from his native Mauritius, a former French colony in the Indian Ocean under British sovereignty since 1814. With his British citizenship, French mother, and American father, Brown-Séquard pursued lecturing and research opportunities on both sides of the Atlantic. At the age of twenty, in 1837, the young colonial traveled with his widowed mother to seek an education in France. He had little money, but intense ambitions, which he briefly directed toward literature. When he did not succeed with his plays and stories, he burned them, and brought that same intensity to the Faculty of Medicine in Paris, where he immediately enrolled. He worked relentlessly, often in Spartan conditions, as he fiercely devoted himself to the scientific transformation of medicine. As a student, he began his lifelong practice of experimenting on himself to test for physiological impacts—he even permanently paralyzed two of his fingers from a laboratory wound. Some of his experimental research, especially on the physiology of the spinal cord, coincided with the work of Bernard, and they were frequent professional and intellectual rivals. Bernard was appointed to the professorship in medicine at the Collège de France

when Brown-Séquard had also applied, and then he took his place when Bernard died in 1878.[12]

In an era of increasing professional rigor, Brown-Séquard developed an international reputation as a specialist in the physiology of the nervous system. A major theme of his work was his challenge to the emerging emphasis on cerebral localization. In contrast to the theory that "each function of the brain is carried on by special organs," he proposed that "a great many parts of the brain . . . contain the elements endowed with each of the various functions that we know to exist in the [whole] brain." He was able to show, through meticulous research on brains with one-sided injuries, that the organ's other side was able to perform functions of the brain as a whole. Brown-Séquard provided James's first exposure to scientific work portraying the nervous system in terms of processes rather than structures, with suggestions for explaining mental states by emergent factors rather than only by reduction to physiological terms, a scientific precursor to his later theory of consciousness as a function, not a thing.[13]

Brown-Séquard was also an innovator in the clinical and laboratory assessment of the importance of the adrenal glands, and he developed some early versions of hormone replacement therapy, with his use of testicular extracts to reverse the effects of aging and disease. He enthusiastically recorded the increased strength in his muscles and the force of his urine after taking these extracts. Although he himself showed no interest in marketing his insights, his name was used to sell various serums that promised to revive youthful vigor and increase sexual potency. One advertisement from 1912 for "Sequarine, the Medicine of the Future," pictured Brown-Séquard and credited him with the insights that have enabled "[s]cientists . . . to transfer energy from one animal body to another." His hormone research and this ballyhooed product show the role of physiological research in the widespread concerns about energy depletion and in neurasthenic evaluation of ways to preserve and resupply that nerve force. James himself engaged in similar therapies, including use of Roberts-Hawley lymph compound, which contained an extract of bulls' testicles, designed to lift his stock of energy, both mentally and physically. In 1908 he said proudly of the lymph compound, "I have had now an eight years experience of it and the results are perfectly uniform. In a week all symptoms begin to improve, fatigue diminishes, sleep improves, digestion ditto, courage & aggressiveness replace pusillanimity etc., etc."[14] James's interest stemmed from his lifelong curiosity

about material impacts on nonmaterial parts of life; so he was willing to try alternative therapies, even if unorthodox, as ways to experiment for further insight, especially if he found them effective.

For Brown-Séquard, research was the prime commitment, but he was also able to show its practical benefits in his own successful medical practice, especially in the treatment of ailments of the nervous system. He was a vigorous spokesperson for the use of science within regular medical practice, emphasizing the importance of physiological knowledge, because complex cases could then be understood in terms of the material conditions mainstream doctors proposed as causal agents of ill health. He was a bold presence at scientific gatherings and an inspiration to students with his devotion to experimental science, even as they often felt he was speaking over their heads. With his wholehearted devotion to experimental science, he also polarized audiences with his uncompromising commitment to animal experimentation and vivisection. Brown-Séquard regularly dissected and administered chemicals to animals, living and dead, to expand physiological knowledge and develop medical therapies, but a rising chorus of antivivisectionists took issue with this widespread practice, regarding him as the "great torturer"; showing his enthusiasm for science, James took the side of his teacher but characteristically grew toward a mediating position, emphasizing scientific progress and limits on cruelty. Thomas Huxley, himself no stranger to controversy, said to Brown-Séquard, "[Y]our appearance would have the effect of a red rag upon a bull."[15]

The Harvard Medical School was likewise committed to the scientific transformation of medicine, and the faculty was very proud to add Brown-Séquard to its numbers. The school was so pleased to have him that it even directed the janitor to pay "increased attention to the wants of Professor Brown-Séquard"—namely, the care of his experimental animals. He had the honor of delivering the opening address for the new school year in the fall of 1866, when James reenrolled after his return from Brazil. One of his first pieces of "Advice to Students" was to encourage them to form student groups to reinforce new learning and debate points of inquiry. The main thrust of his talk was to convey to students the excitement of the "complete revolution which is now taking place in every branch of the science of medicine." He urged these beginners in medicine to study anatomy and physiology because they offer "floods of new light . . . on the mysteries of disease, and on the painful uncertainties of therapeutics." Like most doctors of his time, he knew that the mainstream profession of medicine could not offer many ef-

fective remedies, but he held out hope that scientific research would change that. He boasted of the improvements in diagnosis that had already emerged with careful clinical work and new laboratory inquiries; referring to his own close observation and research on the muscular and nervous repercussions of a stab wound, he proudly concluded that "anatomy and physiology now explain easily all these symptoms." Distancing himself from the older clinical tradition, Brown-Séquard declared that medicine "is now beginning at last to become rational, instead of being purely empirical as it was." The new explanatory power of medicine would incorporate and enhance empirical research, so he counseled students to be scrupulously attentive to facts—facts should supersede the authority of authors or of accepted theories, older explanations that had produced little improved therapy. Brown-Séquard presented James with a model of cutting-edge science; and during a course with the influential scientist in 1866–67, James put these scientific goals into practice with careful research on cell physiology and the influence of chemicals on living muscles and nerves.[16]

In addition to the work of Bernard and Brown-Séquard, there were still more inquiries in the German-speaking countries into the physiology that would support medicine. In the 1840s, dissatisfaction with the speculative insights of the idealistic, romantic *Naturphilosophie* school led to the rise of systematic, laboratory-based science. These developments extended many of the approaches of the Paris clinics. Despite the contrasts between clinical and laboratory medicine, both shared materialist assumptions and therapeutic hopes. Both methods assumed the uniformity of disease states rather than the specificity of disease conditions within individuals or emerging in particular circumstances. The numerical method allowed the assemblage of extensive cases to suggest probable causes from the actions of similar conditions; clinical observations established correlations between body parts and symptoms. Physiology added depth to the same principle; using microscopic technology, laboratory researchers proposed such correlations at the more refined cellular level. Laboratory techniques promised to fulfill hopes spurred by clinical medicine that an exclusive focus on the material substance of the body would produce healing insights.[17]

German universities provided ample incentives for these inquiries with extensive investment in laboratories and high expectations for the worth of new knowledge from research. James's trip in 1867 was at the beginning of a great wave of American medical education in Germany: between the late 1860s and the early twentieth century, thousands of Americans studied

medically related sciences in German-speaking laboratories; there were so many, in fact, that some labs were even conducted in English. As doctors in training increasingly shifted to laboratory rather than clinical training, the advocates of each approach thought of themselves as scientific, even as the evolution of cutting-edge medicine in each era was toward the identification of the most scientific, with the microsystem best understood at the time; they shared the scientific commitment to bottom-up causation, with the clinicians attending to particular organs, and then the laboratory researchers evaluating cellular functions presented as the cause of medical symptoms. The trend in nineteenth-century scientific medicine, in degrees through the clinic- and laboratory-focused periods, was toward analysis of discrete parts rather than the whole person, and toward the concomitant specialization into subdisciplines to deal thoroughly with those parts. Both clinic and laboratory encouraged the understanding of diseases as uniform entities rather than as specific conditions of sick people with individual distinctiveness. These trends in medicine immediately coincided with the direction of professionalizing science in general—toward working assumptions for the exclusively materialist substance of things, their uniform operation according to universal laws, and their mechanical interaction.

Despite these strides in scientific progress, German physiology by the 1860s, like French clinical medicine, had few actual therapeutic innovations to show for all its scientific insights. The achievements were in analysis of the tissues—leading, in medical terms, to improvements in diagnosis, not therapeutics. The promise that science would provide for improved healing, however, was a compelling hope, especially for younger students and practitioners in the field, such as William James. This context put regular medical practitioners into a paradoxical situation: they looked ahead with great hope for improvement, but felt immediate short-term frustration. In the long run, their stance would look visionary to supporters of scientific medicine, but in the middle of the nineteenth century, they offered only promissory notes. James combined that same scientific frustration and faith in the future for his own career path when he declared in 1867 that "the time has come for Psychology to begin to be a science."[18]

James's Physiological Germany

James found support for these scientific hopes in Germany, but science was not his exclusive focus. He sailed for Europe in April 1867 and spent the summer in Paris, Bohemia, and Dresden. He read widely outside his work

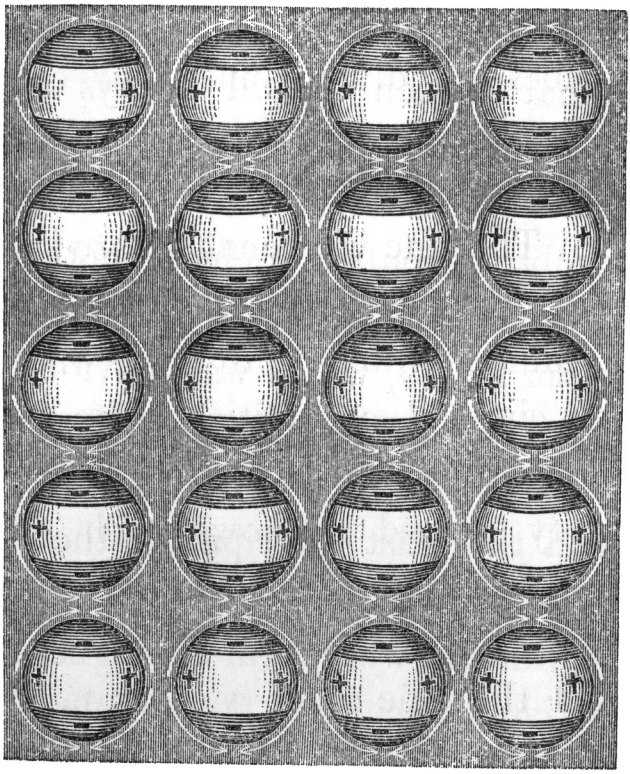
in medicine and the physiology of mind, and he repeatedly visited water-cure baths for his persistent back problems and depressed mood. Ralph Waldo Emerson even wrote a letter of introduction to ease his way into the German intellectual world, boasting that this "student of medicine [is a] valued companion," traveling "with a view to the further prosecution of his studies." As fall approached, James was eager to take on more serious studies, so he was determined "this winter to stick to the study of the nervous system and psychology." He was identifying medical fields that would allow him to engage in research supporting practitioners' needs for new knowledge enabling improvement of diagnosis and eventually therapy.[19] Medicine's promissory notes appealed strongly to the son of Henry James as he eagerly anticipated the philanthropic possibilities for science. Despite his avocational pursuits and the distractions of poor health, James's major goal during 1867 was to work with leading lights in physiological psychology by attending lectures and joining in laboratory work.

James's hopes were high, but his back and eye problems kept him from laboratory work, so he feared that "[m]edecine is busted, much to my sorrow." Still, he went to Berlin in September 1867, lived near the university, and stayed with his plan to absorb the new scientific knowledge. By this time, he felt stronger and more confident after the water cures, and so he said, "I have got tolerably well to work, & enjoy my lectures at the university intensely." He systematically began to "attend all the lectures on physiology that are given there." Most notably, that meant immersing himself in the work of physiologist Emil du Bois-Reymond; James found him "an irascible man of about forty-five [who] gives a very good and clear, yea, brilliant, series of five lectures a week." Caught up in the spirit of his studies, he soon declared, "I am going on to study what is already known, and perhaps may be able to do some work at it"—that is, his own laboratory investigations. His professor was urging a transition in psychology away from speculation about mental states. James had heard and read enough to know that "some measurements have allready [*sic*] been made in the region lying between the physical changes in the nerves and the appearance of consciousness," namely in the pioneering laboratory work of Johannes Müller, Gustav Fechner, and Ernst Weber. Müller developed the theory of specific nerve energies, identifying specific nerve activities with particular sensory experiences. This was an essential precursor to Fechner and Weber's psychophysics, which offered the possibility for quantifying mental life in correspondence to bodily change, with the proposition that the intensity of perceived sensations increased

with physical stimulus, but only logarithmically—that is, by diminishing increments. This work both addressed James's hope to shed light on the influence of the physical on the mental and provided his first substantial exposure to probabilistic thinking, which was embedded in its methods. Despite its materialist implications and applications, psychophysics, especially as presented by Fechner, was a mechanical proposition as a step toward understanding the "inner psychophysics" of the body's relation to mind, with a hope actually to undercut materialism.[20] These calculations and propositions were more widely used, however, to support views about regular patterns in nature as steps toward establishing the measurable research programs that made experimental scientific psychology possible.

Du Bois-Reymond had studied with Müller, and his own research on animal electricity was built on the work of Hermann von Helmholtz, a physicist and physiologist at Heidelberg in whose laboratory James hoped to work. Du Bois-Reymond used physics models and methods to establish a picture of "the interior of the muscle" with "centers of electromotive action." He thought of these hypothetical "electromotive molecules" by analogy with the "action of a voltaic pile surrounded by a layer of moist conducting substance," portraying the electrical action in a muscle as a series of evenly rowed electrically charged balls. He concluded that "these experiments justify the assumption that in the muscles an electrical arrangement obtains similar to that . . . described" in the models used in physics. Using methods that also assumed the ability to explain physiology in terms of physics, Helmholtz measured the speed of a nerve impulse in a frog. He found that the impulses operate at the very worldly speed of fifty meters per second, even slower than the speed of sound; this tangible measurement dashed the long-standing idealistic assumption that nerve impulses were instantaneous or uncountably fast. These insights were triumphs of scientific research and persuasive arguments for materialist philosophies, which have become the basis for modern mainstream textbook models of the mechanical operation of currents through the axons of the nervous system at speeds much slower than familiar electrical transmissions.[21]

These German scientists were mapping out a scientific basis for psychology that would wrest understanding of the mind's operation away from philosophical assumptions, which had dominated the study of the mind. More specifically, du Bois-Reymond and Helmholtz, along with Ernst Brücke and Karl Ludwig were all students of Müller in their twenties in the 1840s, and they signed a pact written by du Bois-Reymond to insist on materialist ex-



Emil du Bois-Reymond's Model for Cells Depicting the "imagined . . . centres of electromotive molecules."

Du Bois-Reymond, *On Animal Electricity*, 109–10.

James's physiology teacher in Berlin during winter 1867–68, du Bois-Reymond presented the human body in starkly material terms, with these molecules depicted in neat rows, on the model of particles in physics. This simplified and frankly "imagined" assumption contrasted with James's emerging recognition of the robust complexity of natural facts, the basis of his hope for a "Program of the Future of Science" (CWJ, 4:93–94).

planations. To "this truth" of the materialist outlook, they all "pledged a solemn oath." They proposed that "no forces other than the common physical-chemical ones are active within the organism." Their depiction of the future coincided with the scientific hopes of mainstream medicine, just as their work supplied information and theories to support those hopes. They dedicated themselves to "physical-mathematical methods," and if explanations still eluded, they proposed "to assume new forces equal in dignity to

the chemical-physical forces inherent in matter." Following the principle that the elegant simplicity of physics provided the best model, they assumed that ever more aspects of life, most dramatically human mental life, were indeed "reducible to the forces of attraction and repulsion"; James would again meet this impulse to "physicalize a whole array of human mental powers" in the work of British psychologist Alexander Bain, whose work he would study in the Metaphysical Club. James showed his reservations about the stark implications of these materialist directions shortly after finding an apartment while attending du Bois-Reymond's lectures: he reported that after the lectures, he would return "to this lone room where no human company but a ghastly lithograph of Johannes Müller and a grinning skull are to cheer me." James was showing a backhanded anticipation of his "Will to Believe," where he defended "precursive faith" in contrast with scientific skepticism; in 1867, however, he was encountering a will to believe among scientists advocating materialism prior to evidence for medical effectiveness because they "tacitly assumed that there may be [such] a Philosophy." In the 1860s, James also directed his critique at Herbert Spencer, whose steadfast empirical focus in support of materialist assumptions he called "pure E[mpiricism]," in reference to his evolutionist philosophy exclusively in support of scientific empiricism; his later use of the very same phrase, but with "pure experience" then pulled away from its association with materialist science, shows his persistent eagerness to present his own hopes for science without assuming such materialist reduction.[22] Even with his critiques and exploratory phrasing, James fully recognized that despite their excesses, these grand expectations for science, when applied to medicine and psychology, might produce important new insights.

Du Bois-Reymond fully applied the terms of his materialist oath to the major scientific innovation of the era: Darwinism was the latest development in science to "dispel the illusion[s]" of philosophy and religion. Darwin's "ultimate triumph" was to present the law of species change through natural selection as a "mechanical process." Du Bois-Reymond's views of Darwinism and medical physiology were an extension of his "physicalist" views that coincided with the arguments of Auguste Comte about human progress toward positivist understanding through science. The German physiologist similarly maintained that science was at the root of civilization's improvements in each age: "[P]rogress necessarily depends on conscious utilization of natural forces observed in their orderly workings." Modern civilization has done more than advance from the structures of previous

ages; with science, du Bois-Reymond added forcefully, humanity has "awakened as it were from a bewildering dream." He was, however, eager to give credit to Christianity in this story. Despite the roadblocks to scientific knowledge that it and religion in general have imposed on the human mind, he insisted, the Christian religion planted the seed for the certainties of scientific knowledge by "inspiring man with the ardent longing for absolute knowledge"; he argued with an early version of Robert Merton's thesis, because of its uncompromising spirit of monotheism, which displaced the "essentially tolerant" beliefs of polytheism. But any religious idea was at best a way station toward the pinnacle of "certitude in . . . experimental science."[23]

Despite his reservations about such enthusiasms for science, James saw the practical benefit of adding deeper scientific understanding to his medical training. So it is "worth the trouble," he noted with patient acceptance of scientific overconfidence, and he added with determination, "a steady boring away is bound to fetch" eventual accomplishment. While he rarely showed hesitation about the worth of the scientific material, he found it "very discouraging" that his poor health kept him from researching more of the alluring work he was reading about. As he well understood, to really succeed in scientific research would require expertise in the laboratory, but his back and eye problems kept him from these firsthand inquiries. "My wish was to study physiology practically," he wrote in September 1867, but then added gloomily, "I shall not be able."[24]

Despite his shaky health, James said, "I find myself getting more interested in Physiology," as he kept learning the field in lectures and books, even if not in laboratories. When his symptoms would temporarily improve, he "nourish[ed] a hope that I *may* be able to make its study (and perhaps its teaching) my profession." And back and forth he went, studying hard in his chosen field, which set back his health, then resting long enough—often at water-cure establishments—to build up energy for more study. Throughout his German stay, he maintained the central vocational commitment that had driven him since the early 1860s: "[M]y only ideal of life is a scientific life," since without such work "I should feel as if all value had departed fm. my life." Even beyond the philanthropic hope he shared with his father, James adopted some of the visionary hopes of scientific enthusiasts; for example, he expected that "an instantaneous transportation of the physical man, to any distance for any time, is one of the desiderata wh. science is *bound* some day to satisfy." His "program of future science" would include such enthusiasms, which had no necessary link to reductionist science, and would

support science not wedded to materialism. This particular hope for speedy transportation may have also been an impulse born of his long separation from home. But as long as he was ensconced in Europe, he was eager to "study what is already known" in physiological psychology; and he hoped to work directly with "[Hermann von] Helmholtz & . . . [Wilhelm] Wundt at Heidelberg [who] are working at it."[25] Setting his sights high, he knew where to turn for the pioneering work in the new psychology.

After another month of reading and lectures, James showed his scientific commitment in stating sharply that "I shall hate myself till I get doing some special work . . . [with] Helmholtz and Wundt." Even if he could work in their laboratories, he knew that "my ultimate prospects are pretty hazy." He was dedicated to "the border ground of physiology & psychology, overlapping both." In the contemporary professional climate, he knew that "a cultivator thereof can make no money," and yet he maintained his hope that had sharpened during the Civil War for some "philanthropy" or "humanism"—namely, the moral hope to contribute to human welfare through his scientific work. In the middle of his European stay, he declared "much wd. I give for a constructive passion of some kind"; perhaps, if he could "get working at Physiology," this could serve as the practical outlet for his philanthropic hopes. He was convinced that "there is work there for . . . psychology," but only after "some as yet unforeseen steps are made in the physiology of the Nervous system." And so, he declared his vocational purpose as a minor drama: "[I]f I were able by assiduous pottering to define a few physiological facts however humble I shd. feel I had not lived entirely in vain."[26]

During his year and a half in Germany, James learned a lot of science, but he never did work with Helmholtz or Wundt, because, he repeatedly complained, poor health and his own ambivalent lack of confidence kept him from their laboratories. The combination of his scientific ideals and his troubles made him intensely frustrated: he simultaneously felt a great vocational drive to do the laboratory work central to his science and yet also inhibited from engaging in this very work himself. As a consequence, he spent his last few months in Europe with lingering but fading hopes for taking up laboratory research, while often writing home with worry about spending the family money.[27] His poor health still stood in the way of his vocational goals, so he spent many of the fall months at the end of his sojourn at water cures. His frustrations prodded his avid reading of physiological medicine, while, ironically, he sought remedy from use of sectarian therapies.

At Least a Medical Degree

Upon arriving back in Cambridge in the fall of 1868, James realized that although he still did not want to practice medicine, he was close to earning the degree. Despite the years in Brazil and Germany, and while fulfilling his primary goal of learning nerve physiology, he had assembled more than three years of regular medical training and now only needed to write the thesis and take the final exams. Although his health was still poor and his spirits low, which made him feel he was living a "setting hen existence," he focused on completing his medical degree. He almost surprised himself at how much he liked it. Perhaps it was "so interesting" to him because it intersected with the physiology he had studied in Europe. In Germany, he was learning with a "balloon like detachment," with little connection to any institution and without a very clear career path. Back in Cambridge, he was earning a degree in a well-defined field while still fueling his interest in physiology. Shortly after his return from Europe, he felt "well on the rise again." This "short taste of comparative wellness has given me new stomach . . . for the fight," and he directed that vigor into completing his regular medical studies. He still felt that his health held him back, so he opted for exams in June rather than March of 1869, and he needed that postponement since in that earlier month, "my bottom rather fell out," as he said without specifying which of his problems was at issue. During this season, he chose his thesis topic, one that would not require laboratory investigations—at least none beyond the living laboratory of his water-cure experiences on the physiological effects of cold. Adopting a slow but steady pace of work, he completed the thesis, and he passed his oral exams on schedule in June.[28]

James kept his scientific ideals while finishing his medical degree but still worried that ill health would keep him from laboratory research. Writing to his friend Henry Bowditch, who was thriving in just the kind of research work that James was longing to do at this point, he declared that "purely scientific study . . . [is] the only satisfying work." And he urged on his healthier friend: "Go in old boy and drink deep [and] I, for one will promise to read yea, and *believe in*, all your researches." Compared to Bowditch's laboratory work, James did the complementary work of attending lectures and "read[in]g every thing imaginable in Eng., Germ., & French" in medical physiology, even though his own career goal of work in psychology was still out of reach. Medical research and writing, serving as a conduit from laboratory knowledge to medical practice, seemed a plausible vocation. So, in a

moment of optimistic planning, he blurted out to Bowditch "I'll tell you what let's do! Set up a partnership, you to run and attend to the patients." For his part, James would keep at his studies, which he would "distil[l] . . . in concentrated form into [Bowditch's] mind." While this was a good forecast of the future relations in scientific medicine between researcher and practitioner, and an equally good forecast of James's own work of summary and synthesis of the field of scientific psychology in *The Principles* (1890), there were as yet no social structures to support such work, even as Bowditch's own appointment in 1871 to teach physiology full time at Harvard Medical School would point to coming trends.[29]

James applied the spirit of his enthusiastic proposal for distilling the insights of physiological research for the work of doctors in practice with his more sober hope for earning "a precarious and needy living by doing work for medical periodicals." He had started to develop his writing portfolio with his reviews, which indeed involved mostly works in sciences related to medicine. Without his own laboratory work, this career path felt second best; yet this was also how he was writing his medical thesis, by "just compil[ing] what I find in books." Despite his somber assessment, James was actually building up a talent that would bloom later. His greatest achievements were not in the laboratory but as a synthesizer of research—Alfred North Whitehead called James one of the great "assemblers" in the history of philosophy. The young scientist was already showing a talent for teasing out the implications of ranges of specific scientific investigations for vivid expression of their insights in concise form. He demonstrated his strengths in learning and synthesizing when he wrote to Bowditch that he had "read your [Harvard medical] thesis with much satisfaction," but also with substantial criticism, including doubts about "the frequency of pulsation & blood-pressure" when the "spinal cord was galvanized." On the basis of his studies with Emil du Bois-Reymond, who proposed that the nerves act with electrical discharges, James was debating with Bowditch about the qualities of electrical current in the nervous system, and galvanization was a way to apply electrical stimulation artificially for experimental purposes. After James received his own medical degree, he kept up his reading, urging Bowditch "to tell me of any bibliographic news of consequence either in the physio- or the psycho-logic lines"—with his word play showing his sharpening interest in the relation of body and mind.[30]

For all of James's learning in cutting-edge physiology, his scientific education in some ways lacked institutional rigor. During the 1860s, while he

was a student, Harvard Medical School professor James Clark White avidly endorsed reforms to require laboratory understanding of physiology as a prerequisite to clinical practice. Advocates for these reforms argued that, with science, doctors would understand chemical reactions in the body and the physiological actions of drugs as powerful tools to accompany the clinical assessment of symptoms at bedside. White's influence was checked by older faculty, especially Oliver Wendell Holmes, Senior, and Henry Jacob Bigelow. They were skeptical about the therapeutic value of laboratory work, especially since even its advocates had little yet to show for all their promise.

Holmes had created a stir of controversy when he endorsed the "nature-trusting heresy," the idea that doctors could do little to correct ill health and that it was better to let nature do the healing. He even declared that, "if the whole materia medica [medical drugs], *as now used*, could be sunk to the bottom of the sea, it would be all the better for mankind,—and all the worse for the fishes." Bigelow, whose father was a leading advocate of such "self-limiting" qualities in diseases, added criticism of laboratory promises because such physiology was too reductionist and impersonal. These doctors argued that the study of experimental science was tangential to the real work of healing—or often just a sideshow to the body's own healing. The laboratory reforms received a boost, however, when Charles Eliot, after teaching chemistry at the Lawrence Scientific School and at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, returned to Harvard as president in 1869; with his endorsement, the resistance to laboratory medicine collapsed. In addition, Eliot insisted on a more demanding schedule: the academic terms were more than doubled, and the requirements for graduation were ratcheted up from two to three years of study, with more attention to grading in written examinations and with a strong emphasis on experimental science.[31]

The demand for rigor was on the rise, with German laboratory science generally the model. Although James graduated before the advent of the changes at Harvard, he had already reaped his own version of these reforms during his trip to Germany. Describing the state of medical education in 1869, James's own son, Henry James III, told a story that has become canonical about the informality of his father's medical examination, with James responding favorably to one factual question from Holmes, who then simply stopped the questioning in favor of a friendly chat. James III selectively presented the story to emphasize Charles Eliot's transformative professionalizing impact for a biography of the Harvard president more than sixty

years after the event. The story began when William James himself, age sixty-five, exaggerated his own experience to amuse and encourage his students. The full examination was indeed more "laissez faire" than later standards, as James III emphasized, but it also included "a case to be reported on at the dispensary and . . . written work to be handed in." Despite the informal atmosphere, the examination also included thorough demands in many areas of medicine, and James was especially well prepared to display his extensive knowledge in the parts of medicine related to his own educational purposes. By 1869, he was convinced that he would not practice medicine anyway, but the degree would be the means to the end of furthering his desire to learn in the sciences adjunct to medicine. And so before the exam, Bowditch counseled James, "[D]on[']t let the Doctors bully you" with their own specialized questions; "if they try any game of that sort," his friend continued in recognition of James's learning in physiology, "knock them down with some of Helmholtz's latest views."[32] Even without the institutional structures that were coming with Eliot's reforms, James had already taken on rigorous scientific study.

In the 1860s, as James studied physiology and related sciences, and trained in medicine, he was guided by his program for future science, which pulled his thinking away from both his father's expectations and reductionist materialist inquiry. During his medical studies, James insisted, "I don't want to break off connexion with biological science," but he also kept looking for discovery of deeper "reason" in life, hoping to get "en rapport with reason," as he expressed his interest in nonmaterial factors. This was in part a philosophical impulse, for deeper understanding of meanings and implications in scientific theories and more, but it was also a medical impulse.[33] Before, during, and after his schooling in mainstream medicine, James's inquisitive interests led him to the use of alternative therapies. The practitioners of these therapies also sought deeper reasons within nature, while also retaining aspects of science. Throughout his own engagement with sectarian medicine, James never broke off his connection with mainstream science even as he explored alternative worlds of healing.

Varieties of Sectarian Medicine

While William James was attending to his professional education in scientific medicine and considering its limits, the field of medicine experienced a range of competing theories and practices, and many of them resonated

with his critique of reductionist materialism. While Harvard medicine became increasingly scientific with emphasis on clinical practice and laboratory training, alternative methods proliferated and would endure. These medical sects collectively went by the names "irregulars," "unorthodox," or simply "sectarians," although many regular physicians were eager to call all the irregulars "quacks" because of their departure from scientific (and religious) norms. Part of their unorthodox appeal was practical, because of the sparse therapeutic improvement stemming from scientific medicine. Sectarians could also present themselves as more "natural" than the mainstream, which was a particularly striking and effective contrast when bloodletting from lancets or leaches and harsh mineral drugs were widely used to combat ill health and purge the body of disease. But their appeal was also on a deeper level that would apply even in contrast with mainstream medicine once it would evolve past those therapies into the era of biomedicine. A consistency in regular medicine, from before to after its surge in scientific therapeutics, was that nature alone, including the body's natural healing power, was unreliable, and therefore contrasting agents and actions were needed to achieve and maintain health. While mainstream doctors with the "nature-trusting heresy" remained a distinct minority, sectarians extended this challenge to the mainstream still further by including trust in the healing powers within each person. However, the predominant antagonism to sectarian medicine was so strong that even its thread of connection to the mainstream through therapeutic skepticism did not foster greater acceptance of the unorthodox.[34]

By the 1840s, therapeutic stimulants, including strong alcohol, had replaced many of the depletive remedies, but the earlier "heroic" treatments continued to be used for decades. In retrospect, the therapies appear grossly unhealthful, with many cures being worse than the diseases, and with only occasional therapeutic value, but the retrospective view tends to emphasize the worst cases. The differences between the regulars and many sectarians were not as great as they would become by the twentieth century. Both types of doctors believed that ill health came from imbalances in the body, with evaluation of its symptoms and secretions the only way to gain insights to its inner workings. The doctor's next job was to take action—often with mineral or herbal remedies—to correct those imbalances. Moreover, although the sectarians tended to put more emphasis on preventive medicine, many in the mainstream were also very ready to recommend the role of diet, exercise, and lifestyle to maintain health.[35]

The recognition of the limits of mainstream medicine, especially with its aggressive therapies, was a major spur for many young doctors to go to Paris to enlist clinical observation into the quest for improved treatment. Ironically, this deeper immersion in the science of medicine led not to more aggressive therapies, but simply to reduced action. The French clinical approaches, which were sometimes called *expectant medicine* because of the hopeful expectations that nature would bring better health, actually reinforced skepticism about destructive heroic treatment. This gave backhanded support to the irregulars who had been criticizing aggressive therapies all along and now found scientific support for their critique. Yet this hardly enabled any alliance since the doctors returning from Europe, who were inspired by scientific analysis to deepen their understanding of diagnoses, did not approve of the irregulars. The mainstream, in the same spirit that fueled du Bois-Reymond's hope to find physical and chemical explanations, insisted that continued scientific investigation would eventually issue in effective regular therapies that would finally discredit the nonscientific alternatives.

Until regular medicine could make a stronger case for its therapies, the sects did particularly well. Despite their diversity, they were united by their common attention to the whole person, mind and body in interaction, with each as a manifestation of the elusive but very real fact of being alive. This energetic vigor, which homeopaths called the vital force, was the center of health, and this was what became compromised in ill health. The sectarians largely operated in the tradition of vitalism, which was becoming increasingly discredited by the materialist arguments of modern science. Sectarians maintained that the distinctive vitality of life animated the physical stuff of matter and yet was not wholly separate from matter; therefore, ill health was not simply an affliction of the body but an expression of some distortion of the vital force, manifesting not only in the body but also in emotional, intellectual, or spiritual states. Improved health would come from correcting that distortion, allowing the person to experience greater energy, and this change would heal the body effectively as a byproduct of increased vitality. Sectarians viewed the healer as a mere facilitator of this process, with the application of remedies, varying from plant extracts to soothing baths to homeopathic remedies, helping the patient's own healing power. This strand of thought provided a metaphysical explanation for what was commonly called, by supporters and critics, letting nature take its course. Sectarians wore that critique with pride: reliance on nature? Indeed, reliance on nature so robust. To sectarians, nature was no mere inert

stuff but full of vital power.[36] The sectarian withholding of harsh medical treatment offered a chance for patients to enlist—with the support of sectarian practitioners—their own deep but untapped capacities, their own part of nature's power.

Guided by an emphasis on living vitality, sectarians approached each individual case for assessment of the many layers of immaterial and material dimensions, always interacting, in order to identify that person's constitutional type, with symptoms appearing as expressions of a general picture of that whole person. By contrast, the regulars, with their emphasis on material solutions for medical problems, attended more directly to particular symptoms, and therefore their focus was on the ills of particular places in the body rather than the framework of the whole person. A wide range of sectarian practitioners resisted the regulars' hope for materialistic solutions to medical problems, which in turn prompted the regulars to accuse the sectarians of being unscientific because they could not offer empirical explanations of their cures at the physical sites of ill health. Ironically, however, mainstream doctors also called their less scientific rivals "empirics" because, without scientific explanations, sectarians based their therapies on the accumulated facts of previous healing experiences—a "senseless empiricism" in the scornful charge of most mainstream practitioners.[37] But to James, that empirical openness to experience, especially lived facts not yet processed by mainstream professional analysis, and experience beyond (or perhaps deeply within) physical and chemical facts suggested the very significance of alternative therapies.

Broader cultural and political forces further contributed to the strength of health care outside the mainstream. During the American 1820s to 1850s, a powerful democratic impulse, often symbolized by Andrew Jackson, defied special privileges of all kinds. The prickly defiance of elite status and the expectations for equality (if only among white males) spilled over into skepticism about claims to special knowledge or professional authority. The proliferation of folk remedies provided a tangible expression of this impulse in the relative simplicity of these systems, which could be understood by any citizen who could read. While regular physicians were proud of their scientific knowledge, the irregulars could easily tar them for claiming special distinction. In this context, the regulars operated as one sect among others in a medical marketplace largely free of special status beyond the ability to gain patients. Because of this, the unorthodox were very effective at persuading legislators to overturn licensing laws or to prevent new laws

that would have restricted medicine to the practices of elites. Like Jackson's objections to a national bank, the movement against medical regulation expressed the widespread antagonism to concentrated monopolies of power or privilege that characterized these years. In the face of this scorn, regular physicians steadily accumulated anatomical and pathological knowledge of health and disease and, to encourage fidelity to scientific medicine in practice and in the education of new physicians, formed numerous state and local medical societies. In fact, the prior founding of sectarian medical societies was the most immediate spur to the founding of the national American Medical Association toward the end of this period, in 1847. Harvard was a haven for regular medicine and its supporting sciences, but the irregulars abounded throughout the country, especially in New England.

On the least scientific end of the spectrum was mind cure, which did not even use medicines to cure. From the mainstream point of view, this approach included a radical application of the nature-trusting heresy, or actually a trust in nature as understood to be controlled by mental and spiritual powers. Its advocates believed in the mind's power to shape beliefs, and those beliefs would, in turn, shape a patient's symptoms; health conditions emerged, therefore, as manifestations of the mind's influence. Phineas Quimby, who developed mind cure, was so thoroughly committed to the reality of spirit that he thought of the mind as spiritual matter, the substance with the most palpable influence; by contrast, physical things were the insubstantial parts of the universe—much in the spirit of the elder James. From the insights of Quimby's own experience with self-healing and the influence of other romantic ideas of health and spirituality, including Swedenborgianism, the mind cure movement became the basis for Mary Baker Eddy's Christian Science. Because of mind cure's message about the healing power of hopefulness, James included it as a central example of his "religion of healthy-mindedness" in the *Varieties* (1902), and he also frequently visited mind cure practitioners.[38]

Most popular sectarian practitioners, however, readily used medicines, but of these, botanics or "Indian doctors" were the least professionally oriented in their use of various folk and herbal remedies based on traditions from African, European, and native cultures. Samuel Thomson systematized some of the folk practices of these "root and herb doctors" using his understanding of the ancient theory of humors. A major premise of Thomsonianism was that cold was a cause of disease and heat was its cure; and so Thomson

wrote guides for home use of plant preparations, especially for use of cayenne pepper to heat up the body. To this, he added herbal supplements that would improve digestion often by first inducing vomiting—such emetics were certainly uncomfortable, but they would surely expel many problem substances.[39]

Water cure was among the more popular therapies, including with the James family; also known as hydropathy or hydrotherapy, this healing system used water in multiple variations including drinking, immersion, and wraps at different temperatures. With such apparent simplicity in materials and practice, water cure could be used at home, but it was applied with more sophistication at established "cures." These practices overlapped with the vegetarian reform Grahamism, the temperance crusade, physical culture, and other widely popular "body reforms" of diet and everyday life, especially in the Northern states and among the more prosperous, including the Jameses. Hydropaths also sought to improve health through preventive measures and better hygiene, which would improve the general health behind any particular health problem. These sectarian movements supplied many of the ideas and activists for the rise of public health measures during and after the Civil War, including the Sanitary Commission. In addition, hydropaths regarded their health measures as prescriptions for the whole person, with the body as physical expression of mind and spirit. These strands of medical practice also veered into philosophical advice, alternative social practices, and religious reform.[40]

The boundaries of what constituted science were still elastic and contested, with the very term *scientist* recently coined by British philosopher William Whewell in 1834 to identify those working in specialized research as opposed to those involved in speculation, who remained mired in "empty abstraction and barren ingenuity." However, a more inclusive definition of science endured as breadth of knowledge; advocates of science in association with the learned and wise found support in the widespread spirit of harmony between science and religion before the late nineteenth century. Both regular and sectarian medical practitioners claimed to be not only empirical but also scientific. While the specialized research of clinic and laboratory set regular medicine on a path toward what would become professional science, sectarians could claim empiricism in the tangible experiences of individuals reaping benefits from their work.[41]

The most institutionally organized and intellectually elaborate alternative medicine of the time was homeopathy. The German doctor, Samuel

Hahnemann, presented his laws of cure when experimenting with quinine in the 1780s. Naturally occurring in the bark of the South American quinquina tree, quinine had been known for more than a hundred years as a cure for malaria. Hahnemann observed that when a person in full health took a dose of quinine, it temporarily produced intermittent fevers similar to those of malaria, often called "intermittent fever." From this and similar experiments on a wide range of natural substances in varying amounts, he made his first medical proposal, the law of similars. Sometimes expressed with the phrase "like cures like" (hence the name of his medical system: originally spelled *homoeopathy*, from the words for "same suffering"), this proposition was that, as in the case of quinine, substances similar to the disease itself, ones that produce its symptoms, also help the body recover from that disease. Similars work for healing, Hahnemann maintained, because of correspondences between individual constitutions and specific natural substances, which, if well chosen, resonate with the patient's own constitutional state as a whole, thus supporting the person's natural healing powers. He began his search for remedies with the medicines of his day, and he and succeeding homeopaths added a wide range of other remedies. These substances were often toxic at full dose because, after all, he was looking for things similar to the illnesses themselves; but he also needed, of course, a way to deal with their full-dose toxicity.[42]

Early in his experimentation, when Hahnemann gave himself increasingly smaller doses of the quinine, he found that the remedy-producing effects increased. He "potentized" the remedies by systematically reducing the original concentrations and agitating the results. He called his experiments *provings* from the German word for "testing" because he would carefully test, in minute detail, the effects of remedies, which often prompted "aggravations" of symptoms before improvement; this was a temporary stage in the recovery from the health problem, and even a welcome step. This empirical methodology gave homeopathy a scientific air, and it briefly gained a reputation for being more scientific than regular medicine. But the proposition about smaller amounts of the remedy substance making for more healing power was more difficult to grasp. This proposition, about the high potency of infinitesimal doses, was the basis of his second law at the heart of homeopathic theory. These laws of homeopathy defied materialistic thinking and countered common sense, even as its naturalistic and empirical thinking could make claims to science. Hahnemann presented a

third law of cure: one remedy was to be administered at one time; a well-chosen single remedy would address the patient's whole constitution, uplifting health in general, including any current acute symptom. As with most alternative healing, the improvement in the acute condition would emerge as a side effect of the whole person's rise in health—hence the word holistic. From its introduction to the United States in 1825 to the 1880s, homeopathy met stern resistance from the scientific mainstream, yet it maintained a wide following because of its preventive focus in association with healthy living, its use of natural substances and treatment of the whole person, its sheer avoidance of harsh remedies, and its ability to be understood in relation to predominant nineteenth-century cultural trends for social reform and expected harmony of science and religion. Countless patients, including James and his family, used homeopathy for maintaining and improving heath.

Homeopaths presented an inversion of mainstream thinking in emphasizing the degree of strength of the patient instead of the severity of the illness. While homeopathy suggested that a person's general health, with periodic support, would prevent susceptibility to a host of potential problems, regular medicine depicted ill health as a problem or an invasion that needed to be quelled or attacked. In fact, the term *allopathy*, from words meaning opposite suffering, still in use to describe mainstream medicine, emerged in its contrast with homeopathy. The mainstream development of vaccines supported homeopathic reasoning; small doses of a malady (say, smallpox), would keep a patient from contracting a full-blown case of it. But homeopaths went further. Their minimal doses, produced by repeated dilution, had no chemical trace of the original symptom-giving substance after several dilutions. More dilutions produced less of the original substance but a higher potency of the resulting remedy. This assertion is what shocked and even disgusted regular physicians the most, especially with the growing authority of materialistic laboratory methods, since they perceived that these claims for cures were based on a material cipher.

The more tolerant regulars pointed to the ancillary medical advice of the homeopaths as the source of any success they generated, since like the other sectarians, with their particular emphasis on the whole person, homeopathy also advised good general hygiene. And, in fact, this fostering of the body's own ability to cure (to which homeopaths added the role of their remedies) provided more encouragement of healthy lifestyles than the

nature-contrasting outlook of the allopaths. And the therapeutic skepticism of the nature-trusting doctors even suggested reasons to tolerate homeopathy since they perceived the minimum doses to be tantamount to letting nature simply take its course, while patients took in what the regular doctors regarded as medically inert substances. However, regulars more often greeted homeopathy harshly, charging that it was the most seductive of quackeries. Of all the sectarians, homeopathy appealed strongly within the ranks of doctors themselves, who often reported "conversion" to Hahnemann's principles—or away from the harsh treatments of the mainstream—and it also gained adherents among educated patients who provided physicians with the most lucrative income. Homeopathic numbers were also swelled by immigration from Germany, where the alternative practice began and remained strong. Regular physicians feared this strongest of the sects not only for its manifest popularity but also because, as one homeopath put it, "higher potencies . . . defy . . . scientific sense"—in defiance of the common sense of materialist assumptions. And that was the point: homeopaths did not just disagree with mainstream practices; they offered a fundamental challenge to the very meaning of science in medicine. Homeopaths claimed adherence to empiricism based on therapeutic results, and they claimed that their remedies operated on an energetic basis, rather than on the material substance of things; these views defied prevalent medical explanations of causation in physical and chemical terms, which were supporting the increased scientific authority of mainstream medicine.[43] Even without fully endorsing the views of homeopaths and other sectarians, James found support for his own approach to science in their work.

There was another major medical sect, the eclectics, who attempted to draw on the best of various competing medical systems. In a context of thorough competition, and plausible criticisms for and against each system, their conciliating position had considerable appeal. They used regular medicine, homeopathy, and botanical treatments each for their functional worth, and they gained wide adherence throughout the nineteenth century. They were especially popular in the upper North, and they established several schools and organizations. While the least professional systems of botanical medicine, including Thomsonianism, dissipated after the middle of the nineteenth century, eclectics continued to carry some of their insights into a more formalized system of medicine. Their spirit of tolerance influenced their cultural attitudes, including their pioneering inclusion of women in their ranks.[44]

While medical diversity had reigned in the early to middle nineteenth century, health care experienced consolidations at the end of the century, which parallel organizational developments in other parts of society. Among the sects, the more organized eclecticism and homeopathy peaked in strength during the next few decades, with many of their medical schools, professional organizations, and publications remaining robust until the early twentieth century. But the higher numbers of these alternative practitioners coincided with the still greater growth of mainstream medicine at the same time. By the late nineteenth century, laboratory research had identified the physiological sources of many diseases, beginning with demonstration of the role of bacteria in leprosy, anthrax, tuberculosis, and cholera. Especially as these insights were enlisted for therapeutic cures, this bacteriological revolution confirmed the authority of modern science within medicine. Overwhelmed by the persuasive power of bacteriology's germ theory of the cause of diseases, the irregular systems often compromised their distinctiveness to gain intellectual and social legitimacy. While "high-potency" homeopaths relied on their distinctive infinitesimal doses, resisting convergence with the mainstream, a larger group of "low-potency" homeopaths sacrificed the controversial high-dilution, high-potency approach to remedies in order to retain homeopathy's distinctive principles of like curing like; with remedies resembling the full doses of allopathic medicines, the lows" also strayed from holistic premises in giving remedies, not for constitutional conditions of the whole person, but for acute problems, which coincided with specialized allopathic practice. By the early twentieth century, such compromises effectively addressed some mainstream critiques in the short run, but because of the dissipation of their distinctive identity, they eventually contributed to the withering strength of homeopathy and other sectarian healing practices. Their outlooks would remain on the fringes of medicine until the 1960s, when doubts about philosophical materialism and cultural conformity in general also touched medicine, encouraging a resurgence of these holistic approaches to healing, defended as alternative medicine and increasingly treated as complementary to or even integrative with the mainstream. By the early twenty-first century, despite continued resistance from the scientific mainstream, there has been a widespread turn to what James Whorton calls "curapathy," reviving a term from the nineteenth-century marketplace, indicating that different approaches should be treated with respect if they contribute some degree of cure in the experience of patients.[45]

Secular and Spiritual Contexts for James Family Medicine

Recent trends echo nineteenth-century practices when irregular medicine was not restricted to the cultural fringe. The various botanical and folk medicines were popular with the poor, who also simply could not afford regular medicine; and water cures and homeopathy appealed to the more cosmopolitan and affluent, who craved the gentler paths to better health along with their liberalization of Calvinist doctrines, increased attention to comfort and humanitarian concerns, and interests in intellectual alternatives in general. Members of the James family offer a case in point. As with many wealthy families, they traveled for cultural and intellectual stimulation but also for visits to water cures for their physical well-being. During sojourns in Europe and America, they would find improved health, but also contact with fellow intellectuals, new family tutors, and language learning for the children. Their intellectual motivations for exploring unorthodox medicine ran even deeper.

The holistic approaches of sectarian medical care meant attention to interwoven features of body, mind, and spirit, understood to be existing together and operating in constant relation, even as they could be described separately. By no means did all of these therapies adopt an explicitly spiritual orientation, but on a spectrum from immaterial mind cure to increasingly materialist mainstream, most sectarians maintained varying degrees of spiritual and materialistic commitments: religious outlooks could find a more ready kinship with sectarians than with regular physicians who focused on the body, with nonmaterial factors considered largely irrelevant to healing; many sectarian practitioners themselves, however, had little place for religious worldviews within their practice, ranging from the Thomsonian populist focus on challenging medical elites to homeopaths who presented their remedies as alternative (and milder) substances compared to those prescribed by regular practitioners. In fact, until the 1880s the essential similarity in the pharmacopoeia of all the medical therapies reflected their practical commonality as healers using the tools of the times, even as they had markedly different views of the process of healing: regulars expected immediate action, whereas homeopaths, eclectics, and hydropaths often waited for indirect action, with remedies prodding individual healing powers, further encouraged by healthy lifestyles.[46]

The James family offers a microcosm of the religious spectrum among sectarians: to the elder Henry James, the vital force had explicitly religious

overtones, coinciding with his belief in the primacy of the spirit, with material things, including the physical body in all its variety of conditions, as material manifestations of the spirit's identity; for William James, especially as a young man—studying mainstream medicine no less—sectarian therapies offered tangible therapeutic improvement and remarkable examples of natural experiences worthy of consideration, use, and further inquiry. Because of the achievements of materialist mainstream medicine, and the authority of scientific naturalism in general, it is tempting to regard the James family's use of sectarian health care dismissively; some commentary has even associated its views with "crackpot" ideas. However, the family welcomed these practices outside the medical mainstream as it similarly embraced other forms of alternative thinking. Henry James encountered homeopathy during the first wave of American interest, and it would become the major alternative to mainstream medicine nationally. Before the late nineteenth-century compromises of the low-potency homeopaths, the high-potency practice in homeopathy lent credence to the more spiritual sides of Hahnemannian therapies. This is how the James family first encountered homeopathy. The elder James's Swedenborgian views found ready expression in homeopathy, and indeed many homeopaths were themselves Swedenborgian, including James John Garth Wilkinson, who was frequently the James family's own doctor. Henry James encountered homeopathy at least as early as 1844, the same year he experienced his spiritual crisis and discovered Swedenborg. James and Wilkinson shared an interest in Swedenborg, and the British doctor credited his American friend with introducing him to this sectarian medicine; he went on to transform his own practice away from his mainstream training to become a leading advocate for homeopathy. The two alternative thinkers became very close, with James even providing financial support to Wilkinson early in his career. The families also named their children in each other's honor, including William's brother Garth Wilkinson James and Mary James Wilkinson.[47]

The James family used homeopathy extensively. A cousin, John Vanderburgh James, who had been unruly during his teen years and increasingly troubled, was finally put in an asylum, one that was run by a homeopath who was also the boy's maternal grandfather. In 1857, while the James family was in Europe, William's brother Henry, age fourteen, contracted a bad case of typhus that kept him bedridden for a month. They entrusted his case to a homeopathic physician. In 1870 when the brothers William and Henry were both suffering health problems, Henry hoped for relief at a

British water cure and suggested a homeopath in New York who might help his brother. Two years later, when William himself was not feeling healthy, he wrote to Henry that "I have found a homeopathic remedy, hydrastis [*Hydrastis canadensis*, which is commonly called golden seal], to be of decided efficacy for constip[atio]n." In 1874 Henry praised the "remedy *Calcaria carbonica* which I have been taking regularly"; this remedy made from oyster shells also addressed people with constitutional tendencies to digestive issues, habits of overwork, and a tendency to suffer frequent relapses.[48] These informal, even casual, references to sectarian approaches suggest the depth of the James family's immersion in alternative medicine as therapies of first resort—a broadly attractive approach since these therapies were far less invasive than allopathic remedies.

In the fall of 1869, after William James had finished his medical degree, when he was starting to slide into his darkest moods, the Jameses had their own homeopathic doctor and longtime friend Wilkinson take his case. Brother Henry wrote expectantly in October, saying "I was extremely interested, in [Mother's] mention of Dr. Wilkinson's diagnosis & prescription for you." He did not specify, but a few weeks before, their mother said that the prescription was "high dilutions of Rhus and Nux Vomica": to homeopathic physicians, *Rhus toxicodendron*, a tincture of poison ivy, would have likely been indicated by his chronic back troubles; and *Nux vomica*, a strychnine tincture derived from poison nut, was frequently prescribed for those with digestion problems and an overworked nervous system—the symptoms were all ones that James repeatedly showed and therefore would serve as keynotes in Wilkinson's case-taking diagnosis of William's whole remedy picture.[49] The minimum dosage would obviate the toxicity of these substances, and in light of Mary James's reference to high dilutions, Wilkinson was not compromising on homeopathic principles in addressing William's whole constitutional state, not just his particular symptoms. William James took homeopathic remedies, just as he went to water cures, for their practical impact, even as he did not adopt the same unquestioning spiritual enthusiasm of his father. In addition, to the young James, sectarian experiences, even when understood spiritually, offered subjects for future scientific investigation.

Water-Cure Crises and Other Healing Diseases

While James continued to use homeopathy throughout his life, in his youth he made even more substantial use of irregular medicine with water-cure treatments for his chronic health problems. In his evaluation of hydropathy,

James even studied variations within water-cure practice. For example, he communicated with Nathaniel Southgate Shaler, the future geologist, about a Doctor Meinert, a German whose variation on "the Schott cure" involved water cure and included wet sheets, large tubs of water to sit in, steam baths, and large quantities of water to drink, along with a "tolerably rigorous diet"; the goal was to purge negative material from the body in order to "relieve such organs as may be obstructed by congestion." Far from engaging in the scorn that mainstream doctors directed toward such sectarian practices, he maintained that "this water cure . . . is certainly a most divine agency." His light application of religious language shows how he maintained his scientific posture, and he did not regard these therapies as panaceas; yet even when the baths did not cure his ailments, he was willing "to give the baths a fair chance of working." Still, he maintained the mainstream's critiques of these practices such as when he noted that, when water-curer therapies called for patience through a healing process, "sometimes its effects seem to be like romances or poems," a view he continued to call, in the next few years, a "poetical interpretation."[50]

Despite romantic associations, water cure included careful empirical study of the effects of water in various applications, amounts of time, and degrees of temperature. Sectarians actually resembled those mainstream doctors who insisted on sensitivity to individual patients by retaining the principle of specificity with resistance to both clinical routinism and laboratory attention to physiological factors. Specificity in hydropathy included adapting each therapy to the patient's own "reactive power," and this was especially true about the temperature of the water, which was changed to suit personal constitutions. Variation in temperature became a tool. As one practitioner put it, "the word cold . . . comprises a scale of many various degrees," each with distinct impacts on health. Although advocates of water cure, along with irregulars in general, were more comfortable than regular doctors with in-home, nonexpert medical care, they also felt that it could go too far without knowledgeable advice. For example, many amateurs, hearing generalizations about the benefits of cold water, applied it too rashly. One practitioner complained that some householders with their "radical and extravagant ideas . . . bathe their children half to death" and expose them to too much cold—better for these people to consult "Water-Cure physicians who know their business."[51] Mainstream medicine had no monopoly on professional impatience with popular misunderstanding of expert standards of practice.

These hydropaths laid claim to intimate understanding of the "cleansing effect of Nature's own best pure fluid"–namely, water in all its vital uses for life and health. Outsiders looked at water cure as a simple system because of its supposedly singular focus, even though the use of water was thoroughly supplemented with keen attention to "the agencies of air, exercise, diet, clothing, etc." Within their prime focus, however, advocates relished the "endless variety of applications of water, internal and external, warm, hot, or cold, . . . vapor as well as liquid," administered with a wide range of different baths and wet packs. They even showed the same social trends toward specialization that influenced mainstream professional practice; James praised one establishment in Germany, emphasizing that it was "the most *potent* of all in abdominal disorders." Hydropaths were eager to point out that the water was not a miracle cure, or even the cause of cure, but it was a prime and wholly natural vehicle for the real source of health and healing: as with sectarian medicine in general, they believed that individual vitality, or the patient's own "organic strength," was "the universal remedy for all diseases." It was this confidence in the physical manifestation of the individual's unique personal or spiritual identity that gave sectarians their readiness to let nature heal with a minimum of interference, because it was an "infallible sage." By contrast, mainstream doctors treated the organism like a "stupid child that must be forced to be happy." Unlike orthodox treatments that "strike directly at the abnormality of the functions," water-cure therapies removed the symptoms "through the indirect means of normalization of the chemical and structural relations of the diseased organism" as a whole.[52] When not repulsed by the unnaturalness of mainstream remedies, sectarians including hydropaths admitted the directness and speed of mainstream therapies but warned about their side effects; and so they maintained, as did most sectarians, that the slow but thorough pace of healing from their more natural remedies would bring more substantial and enduring results, especially when combined with generally healthy living.

Water-cure practitioners offered a variety of means for nature to cure through water applications, based on attention to the body's own mechanisms for removal of unhealthy material. The constant state of "appropriation and secretion" effectively allows the body to take in healthy substances and let out the unhealthy. Congestion of these natural processes brought disease, with health emerging from release. Sweating already drives unhealthy matter through the pores of the skin, and excretion releases still more. To

supplement these natural processes, various baths would change the configuration of the blood vessels and other organs and do so even more effectively, hydropaths insisted, than drugs. The cold would act to repulse "the blood from the part of the body subjected thereto," and the healthful reaction would come from "the contra-operation of the organism" itself with its "increase of heat in the refrigerated part." Because the therapy supported a process already in place, the positive impact would endure far past the application of cold. And "if the organism be vigorous," hence the insistence on good hygiene, the therapeutic increase in heat would continue still further. Careful distinctions in the use of temperature for different patients also applied to different types of illness. For example, "persons with shattered nerves must, under all circumstances, carefully guard against taking cold"; instead, "diseased nerves must be tranquilized not excited," and such patients need "temperate water," which "gradually soothes" the nerves.[53] This was a therapy that spoke to young James's particular health conditions.

These therapists viewed the use of cold water as a powerful tool, which with too long application or in a patient with a weak constitution could cause injury or even death. When administered properly, the shock of the cold water would improve heath, but only after bringing actual setbacks, such as "evacuations of the morbific matters in boils, eruptions, perspirations, diarrheas, etc." This was the period of "crisis" in the cure, and although uncomfortable and experienced as a temporary setback, it was anticipated eagerly, even "with pleasure and hope." To most observers, and in the critical perspective of mainstream medicine, such symptoms were signs of continued disease—and particularly alarming and disgusting events—that needed to be stopped. As uncomfortable and unpleasant as these symptoms were in themselves, they were crucial to the water-cure treatment because they indicated that "nature is successfully exerting herself to throw off the disease," which they understood to be literally exiting the body with the unpleasant secretions. And so, in water cure, as with other sectarian therapies, even unpleasant symptoms were a "happy fortune"; the acute crisis was a necessary and even welcome stage toward cure. By contrast, when attacking the symptoms, regular medicines could indeed make the patient feel better in the short run, but these served as treatments that, the sectarians maintained, would merely suppress diseases by preventing their exit. This is why water-cure therapists, along with other sectarians, showed less concern for symptoms than did regular physicians. Instead of being objects for attack, fevers and other vigorous "excitation[s]" served as "radical curative endeavors of

the organism." The crisis would also release any previous and often harmful medicines, such as the mercury compound calomel (or helpful medicines with short-term gains and harmful side effects); patients would even "taste decidedly the medicaments again" as they were "driven out." In short, the therapy turned chronic long-standing health problems into "primary or acute diseases," expressed in the crisis—similar to what homeopaths called a temporary "aggravation," which homeopath Wilkinson called the "instructive panorama" of sickness—all steps in the body's natural dynamics toward improved health.[54]

James's steady application of water-cure therapies helps explain his own frequent use of the term *crisis*, often without alarm; in light of his sectarian practice, he may have actually partially welcomed his personal troubles of the next few years after he earned his M.D. He was thinking about his troubles as stages toward insight even before hearing Charles Peirce's theory of doubt as a stage toward belief; and his medical experiences could have predisposed him to resonate with this thinking. He was already applying his understanding of the role of crises in alternative medicine more broadly: in 1870, when he was in some of his own most difficult times, he urged his brother Henry to "pick up heart" through a time when he was "so out of order," since "it may be a crisis bro't on by the Water Cure." In particular, the "low spirits" his brother was then suffering was a frequent "concomitant of oxaluria," an excretion of excess oxalates in the urine; small amounts of this organic acid are normal, taken in from many plant foods and even produced by the human body, but poor metabolism can indeed bring excesses that produce melancholy along with poor digestion. As James himself said, the crisis setbacks were part of a broader "*tendency* to recover." He continued to use this mental model of the benefits of abrupt change in his study of religious conversion and in his psychological observation that "[t]he breaking up of mental bad habits is a part of every chronic cure." During crisis events, the body discharges the causes of its ill health; and unless freed from the long-standing problems leading to these acute moments, the problems would remain embedded or suppressed, causing repeated chronic symptoms. For just these reasons, sectarian therapists even called the acute crises "healing diseases." With these symptoms serving as part of the body's adaptive means for coping with diseases, nonmainstream physicians ironically showed more fidelity to evolutionary theory than did scientific medicine with its eagerness to correct problem conditions; such medical interventions would remove a natural adaptation from the body's natural healing powers.[55]

Despite the long-term benefits of crises and aggravations, the forecast of worsening health before improvement generally held increasingly less appeal to most patients compared to the promise of immediate improvement from mainstream medicine, with its ability to deal with severe symptoms and quell the dangers they might pose, even when only appearing temporarily.

James had his own most extensive experience of water cure during his trip to Germany. With plans for learning science and also for improving health especially at the beginning of his stay, James was "feeling quite hopeful of recovery." He spent four months reading and learning German, and then he made his first visit to Teplitz, in Bohemia near Dresden. After a short stay in August 1867, he was ready to resume work: "I have been greatly reinvigorated by my stay here, and consider myself a well man." Before his treatments at the German water cure, he had complained that "the state of my back . . . [had] been very much worse than before I left home." He also reported a host of digestive problems including chronic gastritis and dyspepsia. He commented that, while at Teplitz, "owing to the weakening effects of the baths, both back & st[oma]ch. got worse if anything." Recognizing the role of temporary setbacks, he did not report his own weakening with alarm or even surprise; he even ended the very sentence about getting worse by saying that while under these treatments he was "happy as a king," and he went on to say, "I have been growing every day steadily better in every respect."[56] He was experiencing the benefits of his temporary but healing setback, but he would experience the burden of crises over and over again.

Any rebound was a rare delight for the long-suffering James, so he caught himself thinking "I . . . hardly wish to believe it yet," since he had come to know "the terrible *jerk* of a relapse . . . as has so often happened." Sure enough, by November, once he was established in Berlin, he found himself less able to work because "this Sickness takes all the Spring, physical & mental, out of a man." Symptoms physical and mental continued to intertwine: he reported that "I am in a mood of indigestion and blueness." Throughout the winter, his back problems persisted, sometimes getting "much worse," sometimes "getting slowly better." While engaged in reading and attending lectures in Berlin, his energy would decline and his symptoms worsen. However, he had faith that real healing would come at the water cures, and so, "I am looking forward to Teplitz in the Spring to give my back another shove," although he fully realized that with these temporary crises, "the effect of all this is weakening to the body generally of course—& the local trouble usually feels a good deal worse at first." Even

the setbacks did not make him doubt the value of this alternative therapy but spurred him to want more, since he found "these baths . . . of great efficacity to me."[57]

Even with his general endorsement of water cures, James sometimes grew impatient with the crises that were part of the process of therapy, and at these moments he gave voice to the mainstream's skepticism. For example, on his second visit to Teplitz, he complained that "the baths had done me no good but rather the reverse." Still, he had to admit that "since then I have grow[n] considerably better," and he gamely went back for more water cure. Since his improvements and relapses left him at about the same level of health as before the baths, he wryly commented that "all the harm that [Teplitz] has done me has been loss of time & pocket." And yet, by later in the spring, the hope of getting healthy enough to work in a laboratory of physiological psychology made him want to "give the baths a fair chance of working, and then go to Heidelberg," to learn from the scientists whose work he had been studying and whose laboratory investigations into psychology he hoped to join, Hermann Helmholtz and Wilhelm Wundt.[58]

James's last months in Europe became a kind of endurance contest for his efforts to find a cure, with moments of hope for physiological laboratory study breaking through. In May he was feeling worse, and he resolved to rest by staying in Dresden rather than taking up university study. The next month, he took on his long-anticipated trip to Heidelberg with its holy grail of physiological laboratories. But upon getting there, he "fled . . . under the influence of a blue despair." He explained that "one of the men I went to hear does not lecture," so he explained, "I should not have been able to stand the monotony." His comments veered away from physical complaints and into psychological insight. His surface behavior showed weakness, but in the process, he had discovered a "resource . . . to keep of sound mind." His coping resource included "walking off tedium and trouble" and keeping "in reach of conversation, music, french & english newspapers." In short, when he was suffering internally, he turned to his own inner citadel for the things he could control, and the learning he craved reached beyond science. In addition, he wanted his surroundings to be healthy and stimulating: in particular, he needed "at least the sight of rushing affairs that a large city gives"; by contrast, Heidelberg was "a mere village." Even as his observations took humanistic and cosmopolitan turns, he identified his experience in the language of sectarian medicine by referring to this "Heidelberg crisis." This was one of his first uses of the word "crisis," but it did not involve

any dread panic or even any fearful moment; applying the stages of holistic healing more broadly, he was frustrated about not reaching his vocational goal, but the "crisis" was also a moment of personal insight.[59]

For the next few months, James felt the repeated curse of his "general used up condition," because of his "dorsal tricks," as he added with gruff humor. His response was becoming almost routine, since the water cure was "one of the regular cards I . . . play." He still had faith in "the action of the cure," even though "the trouble with the water cure is that it takes such a h-ll of a time to produce its effects"—a constant problem with sectarian emphasis on subtle improvements rather than quick fixes. By August 1868, he was ready to try variations on this therapy. He visited Divonne in France near Switzerland, and while there, he also talked of adding Malvern in England, where his brother Henry had visited. Unfortunately, despite the change of scene, "the water cure seems to get no 'purchase' on the thing," and yet he stayed committed to the remedy.[60]

The persistence of his physical and mental symptoms gradually prompted James to rely more on the potential firmness of his own will despite setbacks. This new outlook emerged first only indirectly, through suggestions to the people around him. In May 1868, he urged his friend Tom Ward to "keep a stiff upper lip, & don[']t drop that courage . . . that you have always shown" since their time together in the jungles of Brazil; this was just as important to James himself since his friend's example gave him "a fresh fire in my gizzard and determination in my breast." Continuing what he would call his "legislative tone of . . . advice," he also counseled that his sister Alice should "snap [her] fingers at fate" and "read as much comic literature as you can"; this encouragement was also a homily to keep up his own endurance, as he advised her that with this approach, "your sickness will wear itself out." This shows the downside in even his preliminary assertions of will: it could lead to insensitivity to depths of troubles. He could indeed be insensitive toward Alice, and indeed, he even found himself to be a tough case. Shortly before heading for Divonne for what would become his final scramble in Europe to find a cure, he said evenly, "my back remains about as it was before" he had gone to earlier water cures. He did not register despair but instead noted, "I give myself no more disquietude about it but simply accommodate my motions to its convenience." He was trying to manage his symptoms by relying less on cure and more on enlisting the power of his will, and noticing its limits, so he could direct his attention to just how much he could accomplish despite his problems; meanwhile, he learned much

German science and hoped for enough health to study in a laboratory soon; and so he concluded fairly serenely, "[I] get along very well."[61]

Water-Cure Experiences and Medical Thesis Writing

Throughout his own repeated treatments with water cure, James was studying a very different, more materialistic type of medicine. But far from becoming dismissive of sectarian thinking, he drew insights from these alternative therapies in writing his final thesis for the medical degree. He declared in December 1868, "I decided to choose for a graduating thesis, the physiological effects of cold." It has been easy to dismiss James's topic and the thesis as a whole because he himself was often unenthusiastic about the topic, just as he was about medicine in general. When he was beginning the thesis, he made it sound like a cursory effort when he observed, "I find I only have 6 weeks to do my thesis in. Said thesis on cold will not contain any exp[erimen]ts or original suggestions." Writing at a time when he was also slipping into depression, he added forlornly, "Time is too short and I only aim at squeezing through." When it was done, he even said that the thesis, with "nary [an] experiment, . . . [was] of no value."[62] Although no copy has survived, the array of his other experiences and words displays his major concerns and arguments vividly.

The proposed research on the physiological effects of temperature is a generalized, scientific inquiry into a central concern of water-cure theorists. He had already paid keen attention to the role of temperature in his own treatments, and he had witnessed his brother Henry's repeated use of ice for his chronic ailments. During his own water-cure visits, the treatments involved deliberate use of cold and heat; he maintained, for example, that "warm baths are certainly good for muscular rheumatism," but he wondered searchingly "if the *heat* is all" there is to the improvement. After a year in Germany, when he had begun to despair of a permanent cure, he remained hopeful since "I have 2 or 3 therapeutic arrows in my quiver wh. I am going to try in succession." He did not specify what the therapies were, but they may have been the remedies of a water-cure establishment in Switzerland, recommended by a medical student he had met in Berlin, that treated a range of diseases with the same therapy his brother was using: "I am convinced by my experience that there is in Ice great power to change the state of things in this back if one cd. only regulate its application so as to get the good without the bad." As with the advice of hydropathic manuals, he wanted to consult "Water-Cure physicians who know their business." Unable to

find the recommended place near Interlaken in Switzerland, he went on to Divonne. Without immediate results, some of his therapeutic arrows were "of dubious promise," but they repeatedly involved experiences with temperature variation that caught his attention. By the time he returned to Cambridge, he added the hydropathic use of temperature variation along with the homeopathic law of similars to his list of "many remedies" worth studying.[63]

At first, James's encounter with the temperature topic was experiential—in pursuit of his own health at water cures—but by January 1868 he exchanged questions with Henry Bowditch "about the therapeutics of Heat & Cold." He had already read some works on the physiological impacts of different temperatures before April 1867, and then by 1868 he was gathering still more works in French and German on the subject—with his ongoing hopes for laboratory research, or even already in anticipation of the medical thesis. After enough reading, he was ready to generalize beyond his own situation, pointing out the therapeutic benefits of water cure through discharge of congestion for a range of problems, especially chronic ones. As a scientist in medical training, however, he did not settle for these empirical observations; instead, he pushed for scientific understanding: "I sh[oul]d like very much to know if their effect arises only f[ro]m the heat."[64] His own clinical applications of water cure supplied observation; he sought causation.

James continually related the thermal practices at the water cures with his own physiological research. From introspecting on his own treatment, he developed his own theories about ways to maximize those therapeutic benefits: after reporting on the various "thermal experiments" he had tried, he proposed, in a scientific third-person voice, that "the coldness of the water must be accommodated to the power of reaction of the subject, but if he can react, the colder the better." His water-cure experiences were the most immediate contexts for his choice of thesis topic, and they may even explain the haste of his work. By late 1868, he wanted a topic that played to his strengths so he could graduate in the spring, and he knew he could draw on his own fund of personal encounters with thermal-based cures, in addition to his reflections and reading on the topic. While he lamented, as he had for years, that his research would be in books rather than in new laboratory study, he did have the de facto laboratory experiences of his own treatments. He also noted proudly that "the physiological effects of cold . . . ramifies off into the whole of physiology almost, and suggests all kinds of openings." His friend Bowditch was interested in James's approach; in fact,

while he was in Paris, he sent James some French works on temperature and physiology. Remembering James's philosophical critiques of recent medical trends, he also assured him that one of the books "shows that the modern doctrine of the correlation of forces does not lead to materialism."[65]

James's correspondence with Bowditch shows that he was reading widely in recent physiological research on his topic, even using his knowledge of French and German to explore books sent from Europe. In effect, James conducted a literature search and wrote more of a bibliographic essay than a study based on fresh laboratory research. This was in keeping with his prediction two years earlier that his education would prepare him to write for medical periodicals, and this is the posture he would maintain in much of his psychological work through the 1870s, when he read widely and wrote many reviews. Such synthetic assemblage and creative reflection on current understanding would remain his central method through his later work, even as he added laboratory insights and a compelling style of writing. While mainstream doctors derided the sectarians' claims of healing as mere empiricism or even just coincidence, James's letters to Bowditch and his own evaluations of water cure confirm that James sought to substantiate the evidence from experience by turning to scientific explanation. His own water-cure therapies suggested the thesis topic, but his scientific scrutiny of sectarian claims set the tone for the posture he would also take with hypnotism, psychical research, and spirituality; as with his later study of religion, he was already evaluating claims to healing in terms of "fruits . . . not . . . roots." Despite his self-deprecation about the poor quality of his thesis and his medical training in general, he did conclude after receiving his degree that this education was "pretty important" for "its scientific 'yield.'"[66] And this was exactly his purpose: medicine was a means toward physiological learning, not an end in itself—James's medical education yielded a depth of learning in fields that would become parts of scientific psychology. Even while searching for a vocation and feeling discouraged and hobbled by uncertainties, here was a confirmed profession that would provide his first steps into the new profession of psychology.

James's Own Sectarian and Scientific Medicine

Despite the alternative medicines and philosophies that surrounded him in society and in his personal life, James remained persuaded of the value of scientific medicine, even if he could not accept all of its assumptions. Although he did not formally practice after receiving the degree, he did repeat-

edly offer medical advice and suggest medicines for friends and family. The pluralistic medical contexts of the time encouraged his own pluralism, at first with diverse healing remedies, before his mature philosophical pluralism; he used different medical systems at different times, for different individuals and different complaints. He made a muted reference to the spiritual side of alternative medicine when he told his father in 1868 that he was glad the elder James had had a wart removed rather than trust to a "conception of their nature" as something other than a bothersome improper growth of physical flesh. His language suggests that he was trying to talk his father out of a more sectarian way of viewing the wart as a symptomatic expression of his father's holistic remedy picture; the allopathic approach was conceptually simple and more direct: the blemish would be removed through minor surgery. The slower action of sectarian therapies acting in concert with the body's own healing power would, he reported in an ironic rhetorical inversion, "accumulate on the spirits," while his father would have to wait for cure.[67]

William James often mentioned other regular therapeutic practices, such as the application of iodine for back ailments (his own and his brother Robertson's), and he offered a conventional allopathic explanation about their ability to induce "counterirritation," the irritation of one part of the body to reduce the inflammation in an adjacent part. Back at the water cure, James tried an experimental treatment called "faradization," named for Michael Faraday, whose experiments pointed to technological uses of electricity; James had read his work in scientific school. This form of electric therapy involved literally strapping wires to the body and running electricity through them. Even when early treatments made him feel "so much the worse," as with the "healing diseases" of water-cure crises or homeopathic aggravations, he did not reject them, but "judged it prudent to stay another month before coming away." He continued using "electro-therapeutics" throughout his life, as would his wife, and he would study its physiological effects. Like the lymph compound and Sequarine, electric therapies drew on a rationale also present in water cure: treatment to supplement and enrich the body's energy when it became depleted from work and worry; and this is precisely the way James used these and hydropathy. Water-cure therapists warned about "nervous debility from excessive study," and James himself noted that "sedentary life makes you weak & nervous." His comment that a friend had become "prey to her nerves" could apply to his whole circle of intellectual workers.[68]

While attention to the relation of nervous energy to health was already increasing, New York physician George Beard crystallized these ideas into a clear, comprehensive, and extremely popular medical diagnosis with his identification of "Neurasthenia, or Nervous Exhaustion," in 1869. The term means "nerve fatigue" on the theory that "want of nervous force" paralleled the anemic "want of blood" in anemia. Like sectarian medicine, neurasthenia offered integrated attention to physical and mental health. In addition, the diagnosis had scientific appeal for identifying the physical causes of mental symptoms, especially depression, anxiety, morbid fear, and hopelessness, but also a host of physical troubles including fatigue, headache, and digestive problems. However, it emphasized illness emerging from functional exhaustion in the nervous system rather than a set of problems caused by organic impairment. Beard's diagnostic innovation was his blending of medical analysis with evaluation of the social settings in modern times that encouraged these conditions, especially the hectic lives and sedentary brain work of middle-class professionals. Hard work had been a perennial virtue, but the modern escape from economic scarcity enabled even the possibility for this medical critique of excess work; and the diagnosis drew upon the contemporary examples of industrial engines as metaphors for the body's limited stores of energy that could be dangerously used up. S. Weir Mitchell presented an influential therapy for recovery from neurasthenia, the rest-cure regimen, which would become notorious for its callous ignoring of ambitions, especially with its disregard for women's work and personal creativity. After being diagnosed for neurasthenia and confined to bed, Charlotte Perkins Gilman poured her outrage into "The Yellow Wallpaper," a story bristling with indignation against this stifling of a woman's energies. Beard's thinking was laced with such gender and racial hierarchies. He asserted that, with this disease, "the strong man becomes like the average woman"; and he thoroughly assumed that his diagnosis applied to whites whose stuffy, unhealthy rooms exacerbated the ill effects of their debilitating brain work. By contrast, he stated flatly that, because Native Americans are inherently primitive, "[t]he Indian does not need pure air in order to be healthy"—his evidence: wigwams are small and have no windows.[69]

James did not refer to neurasthenia for assertion of hierarchy, and its narrative did not dampen his ambitions, but the diagnosis offered an explanation about how they stayed out of his reach. During the first years of his scientific studies, he had already worried about the ill effects of such brain

work on his physical and mental health. In 1866 James used this type of thinking to make a modest but firm resolution for "narrowing and deepening the channel of my intellectual activity, [for] economizing my feeble energies" by focusing on medicine. Despite his intentions, he still frequently depleted his energy. With his hard work and specialized intensity, James was fully engaging the focused attention that Beard pointed to as the trigger to nervous exhaustion; and yet, James was also beginning to notice the importance of attention's "narrowness of consciousness" for steering through "the mass of incoming currents," as he explained in his later psychology. The very burdens within a crucial mental trait raised the significance of Beard's emphasis on the need for personal recharge, which James applied with calls to balance American society's "gospel of work" with a "gospel of rest," including time at water cures. James would use a similar phrase in his 1899 essay, "The Gospel of Relaxation," but at age thirty-one he was already evaluating the place of overwork and other social factors as sources of medical symptoms in one of his first essays, on the importance of "Vacations" in 1873. The neurasthenic diagnosis appealed to James not only because of his own experiences with its symptoms and his own rest cures using hydropathy but also because it mingled mental and physical symptoms in intimate interaction. James referred to neurasthenia and its evaluations many times, including indirect references to this diagnosis in his descriptions of mental drift and loss of will in his psychology texts, a frank report in 1895 that "I am a victim of neurasthenia and the sense of hollowness and unreality that goes with it," and in 1904, when remembering an "acute neurasthenic attack" in his youth. In addition, the very method of neurasthenic analysis offered a potential resource for his philosophy. Neurasthenia was a diagnosis about the use of tissues rather than their structures, just as pragmatism would emphasize the consequences or use of ideas, and in his radical empiricism, James would evaluate consciousness as a function rather than a structural component of the mind.[70] Although by the twentieth century neurasthenia was bypassed in favor of diagnoses more selective and specialized, neurasthenia played an important role not only in James's times generally but also in his understanding of himself and even as a vehicle for his own theorizing.

Neurasthenic treatments had appeal both to alternative practitioners for addressing the whole person and to the mainstream for the promise of physical resolution of particular health problems. Similarly, James felt motivation to use electrical therapies both from sectarian practices and from

the materialist "electro-physiology" of du Bois-Reymond. Before the advent of bacteriology, mainstream medicine resided alongside competing claims for health care, just as James practiced sectarian medicine while studying German physiology and Harvard medicine. His circulation through different medical theories and practices presents a microcosm of the interacting marketplace of medical approaches in the early to middle nineteenth century, and he drew inspiration from each side. He sympathized with sectarians but distanced himself from wholly immaterial notions of the "vital force"; far from dismissing this central principle of nonmainstream thinking, he insisted, with an early version of his functional process thinking, that it was "not a generator but only a transformer of external force." While scientists likewise distanced themselves from such nonmaterialist thinking to present physical descriptions for all of life, James was comfortable with mystery enduring even within his science; and yet like his teacher du Bois-Reymond, he agreed that life required a physical basis. "Be life what it may," James insisted in the robust language of materialist medicine, it surely involved the "potential of so much fat or muscle capable of being manifested by oxidation in the form of external heat or motion." Despite this insistence on natural facts, his deep reservations about the reductionism of materialism would directly parallel the sectarian critique of mainstream medicine for ignoring the whole person. He enlisted this same combination of fidelity to physical facts and avoidance of their reduction to physical traits for his opening argument in *The Varieties* (1902). The "medical materialism" he had met in his studies became the derogatory label for shortsightedness of scientific explanations that would not look beyond physical attributes to explain human mind and behavior.[71]

James's study of medicine included both the laboratory evidence of anatomy and physiology and sectarian experiences that could not be reduced to laboratory evaluation. While most observers have assumed the sharp contrasts of these practices, for James they would become different resources for his thinking about the human person, in medicine and more. From his work in mainstream medicine and his scientific studies in general, he approached the sectarians with an inquiring curiosity, ready to try out practices in experience, but skeptical of extravagant claims. From his exposure to sectarian medicine, he harbored insights about the power of nature and the limits of mainstream medicine, and about the possibilities for nature to act in ways that could not be reduced to physical and chemical terms. Even as he became an important leader and synthesizer of the new scientific psy-

chology, these suggestions contributed to his doubts about the finality of scientific approaches.

James did not work in irregular medicine any more than in mainstream medicine, but he did personally try a pluralistic range of therapies throughout his life, from his visits to water cures and his use of electrical therapy in his youth to his enlisting of many treatments, including homeopathic remedies, the mind cure of Christian Science, the lymph compound, and lesser known remedies, as he sought relief from angina and "arterial troubles" in his later years. In addition, he enlisted his reputation to serve in defense of those engaged in sectarian practice. In 1874, while launching his career in psychology, he endorsed hydropathy in a book review of a physiology text, extolling the preventive powers of water-cure practices. In 1894, when the Massachusetts legislature was reviewing a bill restricting the practice of medicine to the work of allopaths, he wrote a vigorous critique of the bill. Although he agreed that the irregulars were unorthodox, he observed that "their facts are patent and startling," so he felt it was a misuse of science to impede these experiences because they could not (yet) be explained scientifically. Instead, he hoped that "during the next generation" researchers would discover a "clearer interpretation of all such phenomena"; he was tapping his own youthful hope for a program of future science, just as mainstream medicine hoped for the diagnostic benefits of laboratory research. James had used his thesis topic on the effect of cold to explore the claims of water cures, and now he treated the alternative practices as a first stage toward greater scientific understanding. But the turn from private writing to public statement challenging a mainstream norm was not easy: "I never did anything that required as much moral effort in my life." This was one of the first of many steps that he would take toward applying his convictions publicly on still more topics.[72]

When another bill came forward in 1898, it was indeed less restrictive than the one in 1894. James's critique, especially since he could bring the weight of his Harvard affiliation, had had an impact, but the change was also in response to the growing influence of the Christian Science Church in the 1890s. The later law would create a board of medical registration to oversee rather than explicitly regulate, and one section of the bill exempted mind-cure healers, provided they did not call themselves doctors. James stepped forward, this time addressing the legislature in person. He again pointed to "an enormous mass of experience, both of homeopathic doctors and their patients," that suggested "the efficacy of these remedies," and he

chided the regular profession, which "stands firm in its belief that such experience is worthless." He was applying his own philosophical stand for an empiricism that would include all natural experiences, in realms conventionally called material or immaterial. In addition, directly anticipating his critique the next year of the widespread tendency to ignore or malign human differences in "On a Certain Blindness in Human Beings," he called the professional mainstream "partly blind" because its policy effectively declares, regarding experiences outside of habitual channels, "[G]ive me ignorance rather than knowledge"; with "blindness of this type," members of the medical profession "not only permit but even compel each other to be shallow." And yet James was calling his fellow M.D.s only partly blind; he praised their specialized knowledge and acknowledged the difficulties for "any set of practitioners" in moving beyond "ignoran[ce] of all practice but their own." He explained with a brief and wistful version of his attention to the mystery in the full array of experience: the whole field of medicine is indeed "overwhelmingly great." In the same year, he delivered his psychological preface to pragmatism, observing the "trackless forest of human experience" through which concepts and theories blaze trails useful but not all knowing. In the same way, he was not content to remain in medical ignorance but hoped for a future science that would investigate a whole range of health experiences, mainstream and more.[73]

In 1898 James also acknowledged that "when I was a medical student, . . . we had to sneer at homeopathy by word of command"; so he "would have been ashamed to be caught looking into a homoeopathic book"—even though he did this and more. As a student, he kept his openness to alternatives hidden behind the "shield [of] respectability" of his scientific schooling, as he expressed when preparing his review of Thomas Huxley in 1865. Later, however, he blurted it out, declaring in 1903: "I *know* homeopathic remedies are not inert, as orthodox medicine insists they neccessarily [*sic*] must be." He even supported sectarian treatment for some specialized conditions: "[T]o the victims of spinal paralysis," he insisted, "the homeopathic treatment . . . really does good." He did not want homeopathy or any sectarian medicine to displace the mainstream, but he believed it had a place in healing, especially to address cases that allopaths found elusive; specialized scientific work simply could not address all the multiple sources of such health conditions, which were particularly well suited to holistic approaches: "I always believed that homeopathy should get a fair trial in obstinate chronic cases."[74]

He found his alternative therapies to be most effective in management of symptoms, even when they could not cure.

Even when quietly considering alternative healing practices during his study of mainstream medicine in 1868, he insisted, "[T]ake the remedy so long as it heals, [because] there should no more be an aristocracy of remedies than of physicians." This democratic impulse in James reflected the "curapathy" of the nineteenth-century marketplace of healing practices. This tacit pragmatism would be the same method of openness to diverse philosophical impulses that he would articulate toward the end of his youth in "The Sentiment of Rationality" (1879) and would embed in his mature theories, in which he paraphrased his 1868 call for medical pluralism by observing that his pluralistic pragmatism would bring an "alteration in 'the seat of authority,'" generating a philosophy "more like a federal republic than like an empire or a kingdom." In practicing what he preached, his therapies, like his philosophizing, were designed for healthy guidance; so his hope, even when discouraged by his youthful troubles, to find more "therapeutic arrows in my quiver," was at once a statement of his medical therapies and a metaphor for his theories in formation.[75] He fully acknowledged the strengths in current mainstream medical practice: its scientific tools directed attention to natural facts and brought great improvements in diagnosis; and its bold procedures were at their best in dealing with acute and definite problems, even if they were less effective in elusive and chronic cases. His early private reflections supporting naturalism without reduction to materialism in medicine would bloom into a keynote of his whole philosophy.

Toward the end of his life, James went to homeopaths regularly. In March 1909, he made a point of saying that that the homeopathic doctor James Taylor was not "a quack," as if he honestly thought some of them might be (or that others might think so), but he was impressed that his practice had "rejuvenated" a number of friends. True to the indirect and subtle nature of the remedy's impact, it required "frightful patience," but through the discipline of the "doctor's orders," he was able to "write my Oxford lectures," delivered in May of 1908 and published as *A Pluralistic Universe* (1909). When he first began the treatments, James experienced "no results . . . but exacerbation." Although these homeopathic aggravations, like the crises of water cure, were frustrating, he was deeply familiar with the process: this, of course, is "just what [Taylor] expects at first." The doctor prescribed

"homeopathic pellets 6 times a day" along with a mixture of therapies including "'vibration' along the spine, . . . 'high frequency' electricity," and "inhalations of a certain vapor," showing his affiliation with the low-potency homeopaths ready to compromise with mainstream medicine. James admired the sectarian practice for its ability to illuminate the natural facts of his health, saying that he liked the doctor's "extraordinarily shrewd perceptions" about "the dynamics of the human machine." In keeping with the promise of nonmainstream medicine, Taylor helped him to manage his symptoms by directing the therapies to James's whole constitutional framework; the visits also reinforced his own belief in the power of "exercise [which] after all does improve the quality and fibre of one['s] tone." In October, James tried another homeopathic doctor, John Madison Taylor (no relation to the first), whose prescriptions illustrated the mingling of modalities: calomel (a harsh allopathic remedy), but in a small dose (according to homeopathy), on the theory that it would induce purging of impurities (in the spirit of herbal emetics). While these remedies and healthful habits did not produce a final cure, he happily reported that they improved the "quality of one's work"; learning to cope with troubles to enable taking action would have urgency in his old age just it had in his youth.[76]

Because alternative medicine would address the whole person rather than only an acute problem, treatment that enabled James to complete his writing was embedded in a larger, holistic remedy picture. He realized that these homeopathic visits were directed toward "re-educat[ing] me as to my general way of holding myself in the current of life." James Taylor did not address problems in particular body parts but rather "the 'pitch' at which a man lives"; he readily accepted the doctor's constitutional portrayal of his general health: "I have been racing too much, kept in a state of inner tension, . . . been jerky, angular, rapid, precipitate, let my mind run ahead of my body. etc[.], etc.," and as a result, "unnecessarily high pitch has produced arterial hardening." This was the upshot of the nervousness that had first worried him about his own mental health back in 1863, and it suggested a reason for his vulnerability to the heart injury he would suffer in 1898. It also related to his lifelong urge to understand mind in relation to body; he was observing in himself a case study of nondualism in practice. His temperamental traits produced habits that shaped physiological conditions; as James put it, "pitch breeds . . . diathesis [susceptibility], which comes out in this or that organ"—in this case, the crucial impact was on his circulatory system, culminating in heart disease. Still, the doctor was optimistic, even

as James complained of the "interminable number of months which his method requires"; despite his impatience, he really did understand that, in contrast with the mainstream medical expectations of rapid cures, "of course any serious remodeling of one[']s tissues *must* require months or years."[77] This doctor's theme about "pitch" resembled the holistic homeopathic theory of resonance, which portrays particular symptoms resonating with both that person's constitutional traits and the well-chosen remedy.[78] The approach of this homeopath, as with sectarian healing in general, also involved managing life with one's traits rather than focusing on achievement of cure.

Despite his reliance on homeopathic healing, James's impatience for health improvement persisted. He even literally let his mind run ahead of his body when, because of only slow progress with homeopathy, he resolved in late 1909 to "try Xian Science," in particular, the Christian Science healer L. G. Strang. He had been visiting mind-cure practitioners at least since the 1880s, but he repeatedly noticed more impact on friends and family than on himself, until 1906, when "for the first time in my life I practiced the Mind-cure philosophy rather successfully." So he visited this mind-cure healer with rising expectations. Although a "willing patient" through more than twenty visits, he did not substantially improve. Despite his respect for these approaches, he wondered if his intellectual posture put him out of touch with the "more absolutely-grounded life" available in "only [that] part of mankind" with greater trust and full immersion in the immaterial parts of life. His own development, with religious sensibilities but also with thorough embrace of science, left him with avid curiosity and openness, but also with "prudences and intellectual scruples" that often kept him from experiencing these "other ways of living." And even the most committed medical practitioners, with spiritual or material modalities, in sectarian or mainstream practice, faced limits in their effectiveness with fatal diseases—James's philosophical endorsement of "ever not quite" here applied to medicine.[79] James's chronic heart condition worsened as he turned sixty-eight in January 1910, and he died in August of that year.

In 1909, a year before his death, James met Sigmund Freud at a Clark University conference. Although slowed by his heart condition and shifting between sectarian therapies, James was eager to meet the increasingly influential Freud, especially since he had been the first American to review his work. The two great psychologists disagreed considerably but showed great respect for each other; in fact, when James paused their conversation because of chest pains, he calmly asked the younger psychologist to hold his

bag and walk ahead. The serene drama reminded Freud that "I have always wished," potent words from the founder of psychoanalysis, "that I might be as fearless as he was in the face of death." James's calm was born at least in part from both his openness to diverse therapies and his simultaneous awareness of each of their limits. The flip side of his willingness to try many of them was his realization that no one healing practice, just like no one philosophy, could offer excusive claim to the whole of experience and its possibilities.[80]

In taking alternative medicines seriously, James embraced the concept that health was not just a product of discrete material factors but the result of interacting facets of the whole person—including the material. Sectarian therapies served as prime examples of the shortcomings of materialism. While allopaths would increasingly rely upon diagnoses based on the assembling of laboratory tests for particular body tissues, the sectarians attended to the interaction of physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual symptoms in relation to each other. Their interaction produced the constitutional traits of the patient, just as the mature James would look to the role of relations in consciousness to convey a robust portrait of "pure experience," and the interaction of parts of experience in general. His study of anatomy and physiology confirmed his commitment to the centrality of natural facts, and his work with sectarians primed his openness to a wide range of experiences also appearing in natural settings. Both forms of medicine would also be resources for his lifelong attention to the importance of individual particularity, his own version of the medical principle of specificity. He put these ideas into practice, not in the medical profession, but in his philosophy, which bore the imprint of his hope for a future science with attention to varieties of human experience, as expressed in natural facts even when emerging beyond materialist explanations.

James's encounter with the whole range of medicines practiced widely in his day provided him with both a reservoir of sympathy for unorthodox ideas and a fund of knowledge in the sciences of the human body, on his way to becoming a psychologist rather than a doctor. He also came face to face with the "the inside workings" of medicine, including its intellectual and professional fissures. He did not so much take sides as use the tension as he built up his own integrating philosophy. He even equated the medical rivalry around him as a "conflict . . . like that of two philosophies"; his own emerging philosophy would be based on experience, in all its full diversity,

assessed without blinking. But all around him, he witnessed squabbles over parts of nature's turf: "*Your* experience, says one side to the other, simply is n't fit to *count*."[81] The tensions in his medical and other experiences from his youth not only discouraged him but also prodded his eagerness to account for the plausible facts and arguments of different sides. From both branches of his medical education, he learned respect for the power and intricacies of nature. Out of this grounding, he rushed to the defense of sectarian practitioners and repeatedly used their remedies; but also, from his mainstream scientific training, he developed mental habits of careful inquiry for these and all experiences. He was practicing an empiricism that included attention to a range of human experiences, not just the controlled sensations of laboratory investigation. From his immersion in a range of healing practices, he was repeatedly ready to criticize scientists who carried a materialistic philosophy as a stowaway in their scientific methods, even as he used and honored scientific methods and fact gathering. He would continue to critique any medical thinking or philosophy that strayed from grounding in natural experiences. While training for a profession he never practiced as a mainstream or sectarian doctor, William James reinforced the outline of his hope to integrate the material and immaterial forces of life and mind within the experiences of nature; and while on this path, he gravitated toward still more expressions of nature's abundant life. When training for his own career still in the making, the young scientist also wondered how the modern world had become so ready to pull apart natural experiences into separate domains, the material and the immaterial. James's curiosities ran deep, into what Victorians called the childhood of the Western world, in the ancient Mediterranean.

The Ancient Art of Natural Grace

> The Greeks were far greater "Positivists" than any now.
> William James, 1868

Throughout the 1860s, William James steadily worked at his scientific studies, but some days he simply stepped away, with long pauses from his vocational focus to read literature, go to museums, and think about philosophical and religious issues. At these moments, he let his mind range. Even though he was stepping away from his academic training, these humanistic reflections took him to the center of his questions about science, religion, and nature. He was particularly fascinated by the art and thought of "the ancients," as he would generalize especially for the perspectives of ancient Greece and Rome during the few centuries before and after the time of Jesus. With his focus on the artwork of ancient Greece and the Stoic philosophy of ancient Rome, he repeatedly contrasted their views, especially on the nature of nature, with those of the "modern" world, which he identified either as his own nineteenth century or, more broadly, as the time since the dominance of Christianity in the Roman Empire during the fourth century CE (the Common Era from Jesus' lifetime). When considering ancient insights, he wondered if progress toward modern times involved a profound loss. The ancients did not define nature with reference only to the physical world; instead, starting with its root meaning in relation to birth, they associated nature with the character of all that is, with the course of things.[1] *By contrast, in recent times nature had come to occupy two separate spheres: material facts under scientific examination; and religion, humanities, and the arts attentive to immaterial realms. The ancients served James as models for comprehending nature as all that can be experienced, and for understanding how those spheres exist in relation, not even needing compromise once separate. Although James entered into reflection on the ancients for relaxation from work, his thoughts produced suggestions for dramatic alternatives to the mainstreams of both science and religion.*

Before James's birth in 1842, some romantic philosophical and literary thinkers had already looked to the ancients and to nature for spiritual inspiration. Germans in the circles of Johann von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller wrote of the brilliance of the Greeks. British writer Thomas Carlyle proposed that nature possessed spiritual potential, a "natural supernaturalism" as he put it. In this view, nature harbored elements surpassing its material components, and humanity required, according to the poet William Wordsworth, "nothing more than what we are" within natural life. These natural encounters, unreduced to material facts and redolent with religious suggestions even without necessary references to a transcendent realm, coincided with James's comprehension of immaterial elements of mind and spirit as factors in nature and in relation to physical things. From his youth, James had experienced his own versions of these romantic impulses within parts of sectarian medicine and his father's belief in the correspondence of immaterial dimensions to the physical world. Young James did not endorse alternative healing practices exclusively, and he did not adopt the particulars of the elder James's faith, but from his upbringing he felt a magnetic attraction to spirituality understood in natural terms. The ancient views offered a general surrogate for his father's empirically oriented spirituality, set apart from medical controversy, and distant enough in time and cultural setting to let him find his own way.[2] *The ancients suggested innovative ways to integrate major forces of Western culture—and major elements of James's own education. While many around him remained content with the antagonism of science and religion or their strict separation, or looked for ways to connect the two despite their differences, the ancients had never separated them in the first place.*

In April 1868, after extensive reflections on ancient art, James read Schiller to help him sort out his own thinking. Compared to his scientific reading, Schiller's essays had "some rather spun out passages" and were "all in the realm of abstractions," but they were "ingeniously thought out." The broad generalizations were the very basis for their appeal; they gave James's preliminary thoughts direction. The first Schiller essay James read, "On the Naïve and Sentimental," provided words for his restlessness about philosophical speculations and scientific study, in stating bluntly that the naïve offers a sound "guide" because it is "always the triumph of Nature over the ineffectual efforts of our reason." Compared to the rigorous work of inquiry, naïveté with its "spontaneous ease" offers general orienting insights, so often lost in the details of reasoning. By contrast, Schiller identified the "Sentimental" posture of those cut off from the "harmony given us immediately" from direct contact with nature, who therefore

"seek . . . a nature wh. is lost." This essay affirmed James's doubts about his vocational path by spurring him to alternative ways to think about philosophy and science with closer attention to natural experiences; animated by Schiller, James would seek a sophisticated version of naïveté. The second Schiller essay, "On Grace and Dignity," took James further into humanistic reflections. James appreciated the way graceful beauty emerges spontaneously from "the whole *state of the soul" with the spontaneity of the naïve. Dignity, however, sets a different tone, suggesting duty, with "resistance overcome." While dignity emerges from deliberate effort, Schiller's essay brought to James's mind the unselfconscious ease of grace in both art and religion. While he was following the duties of his scientific education, Schiller's writing became a tangible guide to his humanistic excursions into the art and philosophy of the ancient world. The ancients' ways of thinking seemed simpler and even naïve, but they often carried the profound force of gracefulness. Thinking about a range of other fields took young William James to questions about the grounds of science itself. The young science student chided himself for "how little facts are consulted throughout" his notes on the broad ideas of Schiller.*[3] *Even while he kept working at his science, he couldn't stop his broader reflections.*

James's steady progress in his scientific education culminated in an M.D. from Harvard Medical School in 1869, with a focus on physiological study. But every step into the sciences was a step deeper into a personal dilemma: he recognized the importance of scientific investigation, declaring in 1868, "I find myself getting more interested in Physiology and nourishing a hope that I may be able to make its study (and perhaps its teaching) my profession." Those were indeed his first vocational steps, but they were pulling him into materialistic outlooks and commitments that he found appalling and discouraging for their reduction of human impulses to mere physical traits. He blurted out that even "fragments of man, . . . even the moral garbage [is] better than chemical reactions."[4] His hope for a future program for science, which would be fully attentive to natural facts but without assumptions of materialism, served as a thin reed compared to the rising tide of professional science operating at least with a methodological focus on material facts, and increasingly with materialist philosophical assumptions.

The methods of science in James's time were rooted in the study of nature, with ever-more rigor and attention to detail and precision. By contrast, for most believers, especially within the monotheistic traditions since antiquity, religion has been the place to reflect on the meaning of worldly exis-

tence in connection to forces outside nature. Traditional theologies have been most explicit in their commitment to the transcendent. Natural theologies, with major influence in the nineteenth century, and attention to religion as the focus of "ultimate concern" in recent times have deemphasized this predominant Western equation of religion with the transcendent; however, even these turns toward worldly or immanentist directions, with their searches for "[religious] meaning in the familiar," have involved scrutinizing nature and social life for evidence of forces beyond this world.[5] In short, for almost all citizens of Western cultures even today, and more so in James's time, the sciences have been the fields to go to for answers about the natural world, and religion has offered hopes beyond the here and now. In the ancient world, this sharp contrast between nature and supernature was not so readily assumed, and their example captured James's imagination.

The Cleverness of the Greeks

James's avocational observations were a variation on a centuries-old cultural debate about the wisdom of the ancients versus the need to generate distinctly modern insights in each succeeding era. During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the ancients became objects of intense admiration, with the rediscovery of Greek and Roman thought serving as encouragements for humanistic learning and academic progress. But by the seventeenth century, their authority became increasingly contested, with ancients and moderns pitted against each other in the "battle of the books," with similar clashes in the Enlightenment and in educational debates in James's own time—and variations on this battle have continued into the twenty-first century. James's version of these debates began in more modest ways, without insistence on either ancient standards or modern ways to dismiss them; while he was studying modern natural science, he reflected broadly about ancient assumptions about nature.[6]

Within days of his arrival for study at Harvard's Lawrence Scientific School in the fall of 1861, James already showed interest in ancient Greek art. He was enjoying his new studies in chemistry, although his guarded observation that they were only interesting "so far" gave a clue that he was not intent on abandoning his other interests while he studied science. Having moved away from the family circle, he was content to be "perfectly independent of everyone." On a clear but cold Saturday afternoon in early September, he took a step back to his still fervent interest in painting by going to the Boston Athenæum, which had been founded in 1807 to promote such

appreciation of the arts and culture. Only a few months removed from training as a painter in William Morris Hunt's studio in Newport, James keenly enjoyed a few large canvases by American landscape painter Washington Allston, and he delighted in the Athenæum's "casts from antique sculptures." Trained in the painter's craft but with little formal schooling in ancient history, he adopted much of the enthusiasm for ancient language and culture promoted at the Athenæum and other contemporary educational institutions. Just as these admirers of Greek culture would advocate, James would make occasional references to Greek mythology, he made a lifelong effort to learn some of the Greek language, and he had great enthusiasm for Greek art.[7] What intrigued him most was that the ancients suggested a way to read science and religion that had become marginalized in modern times; and yet their perspectives were rooted in the natural world that he was studying scientifically.

In his late twenties, when James was increasingly uncertain about which science to study, what work he should take up, or even what his own philosophy and personal commitments would be, his leisurely diversions in the ancient world turned into intensely reflective sessions about the world's cosmic orientation. These steps away from work actually took him to the heart of the assumptions within his work. After having visited the Greek casts on his home turf in Boston, he brought his interests to Germany where he had gone to study physiological psychology in 1867. After just one visit to the casts at the Zwinger Museum in the Saxon city of Dresden, he was entranced, as he blurted out enthusiastically: "It is useless to deny that the Greeks had a certain cleverness. Houp la la!"[8] This initial enchantment would develop into a fascinated urgency about potential lessons from the ancients.

After a long winter of steady scientific study, especially in Berlin, during which he also felt depressed from lack of direction, James went to Saxony in the spring of 1868 to use water-cure baths and continue his studies. While shuttling between work and recovery, the lure of other subjects, especially among the Greeks, continued in full force. He repeatedly visited the Zwinger and was persistently fascinated with the Greek casts, here in an even larger collection than at the Athenæum. In early April, he recorded in his diary that he had been reading both Darwin and the *Odyssey*. The next entries contain many more references to Homer and Greek art than to any science, and his comments range from simple observation about story lines and technical details to broader comparisons of ancient and modern world-

views. The vehicle of ancient art had transported him away from his immediate scientific work into a surrogate vocation of philosophical evaluation of the natural world, artistic commentary, and deep reflection on the decline of the ancient world. Fully aware that the science he was studying was a centerpiece of modern culture, especially for its authoritative statements about nature, he was putting the very premises of his education on trial as he scrutinized the museum samples of classical creations.[9] Without knowing its full extent, James was part of a broad American fascination with the ancient world.

The non-Judaic and non-Christian cultures of the classical Mediterranean world rivaled the Bible as major sources of lessons and cultural models. On the American scene, the founders of Puritan New England established Harvard College in 1636 with classical training of ministers while Massachusetts Bay was still a frontier settlement; even earlier, at Jamestown, George Sandys took time from serving as treasurer of the Virginia Company to translate Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, complete with commentaries suggesting parallels between the text's theme about the mutability of all things and the colonists' often desperate efforts to transform the wilderness around the James River into more permanent settlements. Many Americans have liked to tell the story of European settlement of the New World by making parallels with the Old World when it was new; Virgil's saga of Aeneas's travels from Greek Troy to the founding of Rome was a favorite reference for American writers from Cotton Mather to Phillis Wheatley. Especially for the educated elite, who looked to the ancients as models of civilization and refinement, ancient Greeks and Romans even provided secular alternatives to Christianity. The badge of learning and gentility conferred by knowledge of antiquities was particularly significant for the education of the young, because it seemed to guarantee formative exposure to timeless beauty and truth. During the eighteenth century, a higher percentage of Americans was reading the classics than in any population in world history since ancient times; with some boosterist exaggeration, Thomas Jefferson claimed that "ours are the only farmers who can read Homer." Sam Houston offers a good example: as a teenager in frontier Tennessee, he read the *Iliad* over and over again beginning in 1808, and its glorification of the heroic shaped his flamboyant drive to find his own glory on the Texas frontier.[10]

In the early republic, examples from Rome dominated Americans' fascination with the ancient world. Classical references animated the republicanism central to American nation building, with attention to the cultural

lessons to be learned from Roman political history, especially the supreme value of public virtue and political freedom, and their fragility when facing the lures of power. Although the Greek language had been taught for generations, interest in Greek intensified in the early nineteenth century. Since much of Roman high culture was derived from Greek-inspired, or Hellenistic, influences, the study of Greece had an extra attraction from the sense that it could supply the original meaning of the ancient world. Moreover, this allure expanded from academic attention to the language, its grammar, and the great works of Greek literature, to the study of the totality of ancient Greek society and its arts. This shift "from words to worlds," in the apt phrase of Louise Stevenson and Caroline Winterer, was part of what would become the liberal arts college curriculum, a form of education James replicated with his wide self-study and that he avidly promoted once he became a professor. The educational goal was the formation of young people uplifted with culture, in the way the Greeks were thought to be, ideally. Ironically, recent scholarship suggests that fifth-century BCE (before the Common Era) Athens, far from the imagined ideal, was primarily a military state: the democracy promoted citizen motivation to defend the city, the higher learning supplied ideas of discipline and regularity for military formation, the athletics was for training young male warriors, and the excellence in art came from extreme competition. Before this currently prevailing view, the emphasis on ancient cultural refinement reflected Victorian ideals; imbibing the spirit of ancient Greece, students would, in a sense, "become Greek," with their attention now focused on the pursuit of truth and beauty. Classical Athens, with its democracy and great works of philosophy, art, and literature, struck many American educators as models of gracefulness for fostering personal character and ultimately for offsetting the grasping materialism of the modern world or, more mundanely, for adding a sheen of refinement to frontier settlements.[11]

During the nineteenth century, Americans were succeeding vigorously in enterprise and expansion, but many craved the taste and refinement that they perceived Greek culture could supply. Shortly after its founding in 1847, even Harvard's Lawrence Scientific School came close to adding classical philology to its curriculum, before adopting the specialized scientific coursework that James would know in the 1860s. Beyond the classrooms of the growing colleges, the Greek influence took root across the American landscape with the surge of Greek Revival homes and public buildings, designed with ancient "gracefulness," in emulation of a style "superior to those

of any other nation," in the admiring words of South Carolina College professor Isaac Stuart. And the demeanor of figures in Greek sculpture became associated with an elegant and idealized—but ironically white, Anglo-Saxon—model of beauty, particularly for women, especially with the discovery during the 1870s in the Greek city of Tanagra, north of Athens, of small sculpted figures adorning tombs. Thomas Anshutz's painting *The Tanagra* portrays a refined woman in living representation of the idealized sculpted figures.[12]

While the admiration for Rome had been a way of understanding the military and political demands of nation formation, the enthusiasm for Greece well suited cultural aspects of nation shaping during the years after 1815. The perceived simple nobility of the ancient Greeks represented the kind of people many Americans wanted to become. Another reason for this rise in American philhellenism was sympathy for the Greek War of Independence against the Turks, 1821–30, which stirred reminders not only of ancient heroes of Western civilization but also of Americans' own anticolonial revolution—with support amplified because the Christian Greeks were fighting Islamic Turks. The interests in Greece also received a major push from Americans traveling in Europe, including James, who was particularly attracted to the German romantic enthusiasm for ancient Greece while in pursuit of German scientific training.[13]

When in Dresden in 1868 James expressed admiration for Johann Winckelmann, who had helped inaugurate the German interest in the Greeks by infusing his *History of Ancient Art* (1764) with glowing accounts of the absolute excellence of ancient Greek art. The serene natural setting, especially around Athens, and the passion for political freedom, he argued, had established a context for Greeks to create works of transcendent beauty. Germans with Winckelmann's style of *Graekomanie* (literally mania for things Greek) maintained that the work of the Greeks should serve as the standard for all future art. This zeal for the wonders of ancient brilliance and beauty was the setting in which German romanticism was born, with the identification so strong that current scholar Dennis Schmidt even refers to the "Germans and other Greeks." The Greek ideals seemed so out of reach that all modern works paled by comparison, but Goethe, Schiller, and other Germans hoped to "return to Greek art" not by direct imitation of their excellence but by striving to achieve in their own settings—similarly freed from convention and through honest reckoning with their own inspirations—what the Greeks had achieved in theirs. Much of German romanticism emerged

from this constant striving for absolute ideals that the Greeks represented. James noticed this affinity, observing about these "old Germans a repose wh[ich] is analogous in some measure to that of the Greeks." And yet, even though both Greeks and Germans endorsed the importance of "simply being," for the Germans it was "only a small holy corner of . . . their 'Weltanschauung [worldview]'" competing with their scientific work, whereas, by contrast, James added in reference to the ancient approaches to nature, "to the Greek it expressed every thing."[14]

Other Americans visiting Germany had already reinforced this enthusiasm for ancient Greece. Edward Everett, earned a Ph.D. from Göttingen in 1817 and lectured widely about the "glorious world that went before us" with capacity to "elevate . . . the spirit." The American consul in Rome, George Washington Greene, echoed Winckelmann in proclaiming that Greek sculptures embodied the "language" of sculpture with ability to express "every shade of thought." The Greek ruins in Southern Italy were particularly compelling sites; these colonies of Greece so rivaled the homeland in cultural achievements that they came to be known as Magna Graecia, Greater Greece—a compelling historical precedent for European Americans eager for America to become Magna Europa. Historian George Bancroft, upon visiting the Temple of Neptune near Naples, was at a loss for words for its "air of imposing grandeur"; novelist Catherine Maria Sedgwick suggested that viewers should "class the sensations" felt there with "those excited by the most magnificent works of nature, Niagara and the Alps."[15]

Of course, for most Americans, such visits were not an option, so museums and colleges offered substitutes for these grand tours of Mediterranean antiquities by enlarging their collections of ancient artifacts. More Americans would then absorb the spirit of the classics, without leaving their native land. This approach would be economical and downright democratic, and it would still capture the essence of classicism, since the important thing about these sites was not the material artifacts themselves but the gracefulness and idealism that the viewer could absorb from them. This process replicated the ancient Roman relation to Greece: Greek culture represented the pinnacle of civilization even then, and the Romans actively stocked their cities and homes with Greek artifacts. In fact, most Greek sculptures that have endured are Roman marble copies of original Greek works in bronze. The artful copies, using the meticulous pointing process with repeated caliper measurements throughout the sculpture, retained the intent, style, and spirit of the Greek originals with extreme fidelity. The Victorians had a

general awareness of this history, but paid little attention to the ancient copying as they engaged in another form of copy trade.[16]

Demand from museums and even private homes spurred a sizable market in imports of antiquities, especially of plaster or terra cotta casts and painted scenes of famous sites. James Fenimore Cooper reported from Livorno, Italy, that he happened on "a shop filled with statuary" serving as "a warehouse that sent its goods principally to English and American markets." Having seen dramatic marble ruins on location, he dismissively wondered "if any man would have the impudence to display such objects in the immediate vicinity of the collections that contain the originals." He was, however, impressed with the sheer "quantity of the stuff," but added dryly, "I dare say, the Medicean beauty has lost many a charm for the want of more marble."[17] Cooper and the Medici rulers of Renaissance Florence could afford such proximity to original ancient artifacts, but most could not. In the 1860s, James both viewed the casts in Boston and traveled to Europe.

For museums noticing the public's appetite for Greek culture and eager to promote these tastes, the casts served admirably. At midcentury, museums bought the plaster casts in abundance, and teachers and lecturers used them to illustrate Greek refinement. They were quite inexpensive. At about twenty-five dollars for a life-size statue, they were readily available from a number of European "moulding establishments," and in the words of Henry Frieze, who in 1856 was building up the classics collection at the University of Michigan, they were "quite as valuable as the originals"—and they were most valuable when purchased in sets to display a whole canon of quality creations. This practice had begun a century earlier when John Smibert, a painter and a colleague of Bishop George Berkeley, had brought the first casts to America in 1728, including a Medici Venus, whose image would become an icon of female beauty, including for James. The cast alone caused such a stir that newspapers throughout the British North American colonies and even in England published admiring verse about the "the charming Maid." New York's Academy of Fine Arts announced in 1803 that it was "introducing casts from the antique," twenty-six of them purchased by the minister to France Robert Livingston, "with a view to raising the character of their countrymen, by increasing their knowledge and taste." After midcentury, museums and colleges began buying large numbers of casts systematically to set up didactic displays of Greek beauty and refinement. While many Americans were buying and settling on new lands west, shops like the one in Livorno that Cooper sniffed at were doing their own "land

office" business, selling refinement in frontier country. The economical cast collections also suited the educational missions of museums. Within a few decades, however, museum goals would change; by the end of the nineteenth century, corporate and philanthropic wealth, paying for the grand luster of absolute authenticity, spurred museums to dispose of casts and seek the display of inimitable beauty in its original and expensive splendor. As William's brother Henry said in 1907, "There was money in the air, ever so much money . . . [and] imitation . . . would have been detestable."[18] But in the 1860s, when William James repeatedly visited cast collections, imitation was precisely the point; the relatively inexpensive casts could fill out a museum's scanty collection, and when accompanied by maps, photographs, and written descriptions, they would encourage the viewer to immerse in a refined version of ancient Greece.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the urge to have tangible things to see—at museums with casts or originals, on public stages for actors and politicians, at shows of P. T. Barnum's spectacles and of landmark works of art—was part of a trend toward demand for visual representation. Frederick Church's dramatic display of *The Heart of the Andes* (1859), which also encouraged enthusiasm for Louis Agassiz's South American expedition, offers a vivid example. The painting was displayed in U.S. and European cities with a dark and recessed wooden frame and surrounded by curtains to generate the feeling of gazing through a window to another world; viewers brought opera glasses to see its precise rendering of natural facts in exuberant detail. Such artistic spectacles paralleled developments in the sciences for trust in empiricism from visual displays. James's humanistic excursions did not stray as far from his vocational work as later divisions of the disciplines would suggest; in fact, a well-stocked museum was likened to a scientific laboratory where actual specimens gave students a sense of the living reality of their objects of study. These classical displays became an informal setting for a democratic rendering of a liberal arts education, with idealized Greece now widely available at the center of study.[19]

Greek Harmony versus Modern Unity

James shared the enthusiasms that pervaded the culture, even though he had not formally participated in any institutional program for moral improvement and spiritual uplift that was based on the Greek ideal. He admired the ancients and detected in them a spirit that could benefit the modern world, but James went beyond the popular didactic messages. While study-

ing German science remained his central task in 1867–68, his museum visits, correspondence with friends and family, and diary reflections provided a grand if personal canvas for setting out broad questions about the implications of modern science, including his searching inquiries about the relation of material and immaterial parts of life, about humanity's relations to nature, about the supernatural, and about personal choice in relation to fate. Since he was writing letters and diary entries rather than a planned essay on the significance of the Greeks, he did not compose a systematic exposition, but his words have the urgency of "notes struck off with the animal heat of the fever upon them," as he said of his private writings on art and the ancients. As with his evaluation of the health effects of temperature in water cure and for his medical thesis, these experiences and ideas would contribute to his physiological assessments of "cerebral thermometry"; he reported in his *Principles of Psychology* (1890) that there is a marked "rise of temperature" accompanying the seemingly immaterial dynamics of "emotional excitement" and "intellectual effort." The intensity of his diary entries suggests an utter authenticity in expression of his temperamental leanings. Feeling "at home with [ancient] ideas," he was already expressing his own example of a "feeling of sufficiency" that he would explain in "The Sentiment of Rationality" a few years later.[20]

The first entries in the diary were not even words but sketches, including portraits of faces, one carefully drawn naked torso, and his own initials elaborately scrolled. The drawings harked back to his vocational interest in art, and may have included his own renditions of paintings and sculptures he saw in museums, or even sketches he did of people around him after he had become inspired by works in the museum. The appeal of art, his own and the museum works, ran deep for James and further show the intensity of his reflections. Like the visitors to ancient ruins, he felt moved beyond words, as he noted in his diary, "Perhaps the attempt to translate into language is absurd—for if that could be done what w[oul]d. be the use of the art itself?"[21] He did indeed find words for the art he was viewing, and as he did, he enlisted his training as a painter to read the museum pieces for the ancient worldviews they expressed.

Most of the diary entries begin with a simple account of his reading or activities, and they often continue with observations about his mood or vocational prospects. He was often pessimistic, noting in April 1868 that he "still [felt] the same Apathy and restlessness which for a month and more have weighed on me." He turned to a decidedly nonintellectual strategy;

rather than wallow in these gloomy feelings, he noted that "against them" he would indulge in a "cup of coffee and 2 cigars." But he admitted that this was a "short sighted practice"—words that coincide with the alternative medical emphasis on prevention through healthy living and that also anticipate his comments on the importance of developing good habits during youth in his psychology.[22] His deepening reflections on the ideas embodied in the works around him offered still more substantial ways to deal with his bleak moods.

Instead of continually referring to his own darkened spirits, James describes how the Greeks dealt with disappointment. Any difficulty, however harsh, did not seem to make the Greeks discouraged, and that even included the "horrors in Homer," which he was reading as *Odysee*, a German translation. One of the scenes he cited was indeed particularly gruesome: King Echetus made threats, "He'll lop your nose and ears with his ruthless blade, he'll rip your privates out by the roots, he will, and serve them up to his dogs to bolt down raw!" But even such cruelty was "only transient, and to those whose lot it was to suffer by it," and he observed, "they accepted it as part of their inevitable bad luck." So James observes that the ancients insisted, "a man should . . . take whatever the gods give him with humility." He was most impressed that the Greeks "were not moved to a disinterested hatred of [any bleak turn of fate] *in se* [in itself] & denial of its right to darken the world." By contrast, the modern temper would include an attitude of striving against the wrongs of the world. The ancient outlook produced a simple and appealing directness: "To the Greek[,] existence was its own justification." He then observed the profound equanimity in this worldview: "Any thing that *could* assert itself was as good as anything else."[23] James was finding another platform for mediation of contrasting differences.

James soon extended his evaluations to Greek sculpture at the Zwinger cast museum in Dresden, and he noticed cultural patterns across genres of art: the "Greek things there are just like Homer." In particular, "I feel myself forced to inquire while standing before these Greek things what the X is that makes the difference between them and all modern things." The question was big enough that he had to struggle over it: "I clutch at straw suggestions that the next day destroys." James was responding in just the thoughtful ways museum planners hoped visitors would, but just as he learned forms of science beyond his father's intentions, so his own thoughts on the Greeks took him beyond convention. Before continuing his inquiries, he defied the zeal of his times for the ethereal excellence of Greek creations.

Instead, "to see them rightly we must first slough off an impression they at first involuntarily make on us of being something very superior and consciously so to their authors." Before they had become icons of beauty, these sculptures "were done . . . as our most spontaneous popular things are done."[24] He was eager to understand the Greeks from their own point of view for comparison with modern assumptions.

James declared that the Greeks felt an "unreconciledness of Fate & world, or rather the absence of a mental need to have them reconciled." This outlook gave the Greeks a spirit of harmony in relation to the world. That, he suggested, was "the prime difference" they have with the views since the decline of ancient civilizations and especially in more recent times. "The harmony of the Greeks" was still serenely on display in their artwork; by contrast, "our . . . [world] peremptorily demands an unity of some sort." Greek harmony versus modern unity would be a keynote of his artistic analysis. Many of his contemporaries chafed at this august harmony in Greek art. Presented as an ideal of beauty since the era of German romanticism, the serene look also suggested expressions devoid of idiosyncrasies of character and even fiery emotions coldly dampened. American writer and sculptor William Wetmore Story, for example, grew uneasy with the enthusiasm for the iconic beauty of the Venus de Milo sculpture since its discovery in 1820; he complained that "we have a thousand Venuses but no women" in ancient sculpture and in modern works following the classical style.[25] James, however, did not make the distinction between harmony and unity to critique the ancient artwork but rather as a way to understand what the Greeks most deeply believed. So he noted that their serene outlook and graceful composure flowed readily from their acceptance of fate, still manifest in the spontaneous unselfconscious expressions of their artistic creations.

James took this idea about classical composure back to the museum, where he was captivated by one display that was "merely 3 standing figures" with quiet, simple nobility. "This sobriety is the *peculiar* element" of the ancient works; then he elaborated on this observation by saying that the ancient sculpted figures were "simply standing in their mellow mildness without a *point* anywhere in the whole thing." The young art critic could have meant different things by this emphatic statement. Artistically, his comment could refer to the absence of an actual physical point in the sculpture, a geometric center, a vanishing point, a vortex. This is an artistic device for directing attention, allowing the artist literally to point out or make a point, in the spirit of his own future psychology of mental selection focusing attention

within the wide field of consciousness. James's phrase could also refer to the content rather than the artistic form of the sculpture. By not making a point, the artwork does not have a specific message for the viewer, but instead the sculptor is a simple recorder. These two meanings of "making a point" are closely related, and they tend to converge. The lack of an actual, physical, artistic point is an emblem of the lack of theoretical point. The ancient art, without a particular point directing the eye, does not struggle to convey a particular meaning; it itself is the message, which is not therefore confined to one part of its material form. As with art critic John Ruskin, who admired the Greeks' ability to capture the plain truth of nature without embellishment, James reported that the figures invite "the eye and the mind [to] slip over and over them, and they only smile within the boundary of their form." Beyond artistic commentary, he was also witnessing vivid portrayals of self-containment and confidence, also valuable personal lessons through these years.[26]

James illustrated his argument by comparing the ancient works with Ernst Rietschel's sculpture of the dead Christ with his grieving mother. Rietschel had been a resident of Dresden until his death in 1861, and he had produced several sculpted portraits that were now in the Zwinger and on public display in the Saxon capital and in other German cities. The sculpture that captured James's attention was commissioned in 1845 and was one of his first major works. James called it "a remarkably respectable and successful thing"; and recalling his painting days with William Morris Hunt, he added, "[H]ow I longed for old Hunt to be there," to prod along his artistic commentary. James, however, found his own words for comparing the artistry of ancients and moderns. He said of Rietschel's work, treating it as a representative of the modern type, "as I glanced around it at the Greek things I saw instantly that one *effect* of the difference was that if the Madonna's nose were knocked off or her face gnawed away by the weather and if the Christ were mutilated . . . the *essence* of the thing would be gone." Noting just such common deterioration among surviving ancient works, he observed that by comparison, "in the Greek things, . . . it makes hardly any difference."[27]

Rietschel himself declared admiration for the skill of the Greeks in so "master[ing] nature" that it could be said they "almost copied"; but his goals were different: he "never simply imitated nature" because his "aim [was] to perfect a subject, to make it what it ought to be." James noticed the difference between Rietschel's self-conscious efforts and the ancient works de-

picting nature "without a point" for what ought to be. He used this insight to explain the appeal of ruins to so many travelers. For the ancients, without Rietschel's attempts to perfect, "the cause of their existence (I mean the idea of the artist) lies all through them and can bear any amount of loss of small details and continue to smile as freely as ever." By contrast, Rietschel's work, the fruit of diligent construction, requires the intact whole to convey its messages. In particular, the German artist's points were infused with an eagerness to "represent Christian subjects," as he put it; by contrast, he felt "contempt for the antique." His own sculpting "came from the heart." The particular work of Christ and Mary that caught James's eye was likely first commissioned by a mother who had also lost her son; even when the commission fell through, he had become so taken with the subject that "he resolved to execute it without an order." While working on the poignant scene, Rietschel was himself losing his wife to illness.[28] The artist poured these emotional intensities into his religious figures, contributing to the pointed messages that James noticed.

James's refers to harmony as the expression of one idea throughout a work; by contrast, in unity, an artist arranges many parts together. Harmony pervades a work, whereas unity is orchestrated or even imposed on a subject. The ancient works with harmony convey their meaning, he maintained, simply and naturally, but a unified work labors for meaning through many details and the artificial strain of making a point. James summarized the lessons he took from his museum excursions: "[T]heir things are simple—ours are at best simplified." Ancient art has the simplicity of natural harmony uncomplicated by philosophical or religious messages, whereas modern art, such as Rietschel's with "its laboriously attained simplicity," must become so. R. W. B. Lewis finds "remarkable prescience" in these pithy phrases; James "contrasted this sublime simplicity with the mordant skepticism and the addiction to irony and ambiguity of the modern temper," just as pragmatism would offer an alternative to skeptical relativism without relying on contrasting absolutist references. These artistic commentaries also anticipate his radical empiricism with its focus on the prereflective character of "original . . . experience" before the mental work of sorting and categorizing would form "differentiated" conceptions from thinking about experience. Just as philosophies serve as verbal stand-ins for robust abundant experience, the artificially constructed harmonies of works with "unity" are like the attempts of conceptions, as he would explain in 1905, to "restore the fluent sense of life again, and let redemption take the place of innocence."[29]

In his reference to redemption, James retrieved his youthful attention to the poignancy of human efforts to achieve profound experiences, in ancient times through fluent relations with natural life, then with the Christian promise of another and better world.

Many modern artistic creations, James observed, try eagerly to make deliberate points. Even artists who replicated classical styles generally presented Greek divinities, such as the beautiful Venus, with modern-style earnest efforts: the popular goddess depicted unclothed to excite sexual interest or cloaked to promote beauty displayed in modesty. With the exception of Thomas Eakins, whose painting *William Rush and His Model* shows neither arousal nor shyness about the nude model, few captured the Greek spirit of sheer comfort with the mature naked human body. In much ancient art, clothing actually represented the material body whereas nudity expressed incorporeal ideals. The British classicist Richard Jenkyns offers a wry expression of changing views since ancient times: modern "nudes looked as if they had taken their clothes off, Greek ones as if they had never thought of clothes."[30] In the same way, young James admired the unselfconscious gracefulness of Greek art.

James's evaluations of harmony and unity emerging from his artistic commentary pulled him to still broader observations. He pointed to this theme in his diary reflections on the Renaissance greats "Raphael and M. Angelo" who created work "to make us feel the ineffable beyond the art"—even when not "consciously to the author executed." By contrast, the art of the Greeks was "executed by the artist with no such thought." Even with all the extravagant genius of art in recent centuries, he observed, that simple, calm relation with the world has been lost: the Greek "natural taste for mere harmony . . . is lacking in us." The difference, he surmised, was the modern search for ultimate answers, and this realization prodded his artistic observations into religious commentary. In particular, he attributed the ancient acceptance of fate and display of harmony to "the same root," namely "their polytheism." Other contemporary commentators observed this religious source of ancient harmony and gracefulness but generally assumed its anticipation of modern scientific materialism. For example, contemporary English writer Matthew Arnold maintained that the Greeks saw things as they naturally and objectively were—ancients already with the spectator objectivity of modern science; in contrast, the Hebrews, and by extension the Christians who followed in their monotheistic tradition, Arnold maintained, had their views clouded by somber consciences and stark obedience

to the divine.[31] This admiration for the ancient pagans set them up as secular models for an unfinished emancipation from religious beliefs to be fulfilled especially with more fidelity to scientific thinking. By contrast, James admired the ancients who avoided the modern longing for ultimate answers through reliance on the certainties first of religion and then of science. To James, then, the enthusiasm for science was not part of the solution to the issues he had been observing, but part of the problem.

A World without Unquenchable Longing

While still in Dresden in the spring of 1868, James's museum visits continued to inspire evaluation of the religious leanings of ancient and modern times. "The difference of the conceptions" between the eras, he declared vehemently, "consists in the too violent craving after unity" of the moderns "as opposed to the polytheistic conception" of the ancients; and the craving for unity emerged from monotheism, the belief in one transcendent God. Before the advent of Christianity, the ancient Greeks embraced a diverse and worldly polytheism. The unity of monotheism since the decline of paganism has encouraged an expectation for absolute answers; by contrast, polytheism, without a single divinity, promoted harmony with a serene acceptance of the natural world without that riveting focus. As James witnessed in the cast museums, the ancients had a spirit of "acceptance . . . of a positive and definite universe, whose parts fit" without a need for outside forces or ultimate absolutes to give them meaning or purpose. This outlook provided both spiritual orientation and moral guidance, because acceptance of natural conditions encouraged motivation to challenge the vicissitudes of fate and even to face death heroically. And so James observed that the ancient Greeks thrived "without any of the unquenchable longing that characterizes" the world that emerged in their wake.[32] He admired their view that the natural world was robust, often difficult, and sometimes glorious, but always enough.

James's attention to the premodern, pre-Christian polytheism animating the Greek art on museum display went beyond didactic admiration for Greek refinement popular in his day, and even beyond views of the Greeks as model scientific seculars. James's path of thought from sculpture to religion and views of nature would not have surprised the ancients. The Greeks hardly separated these realms of life and did not consider disciplinary distinctions in their production and use. Most sculptures were made for public display, especially for cult sites and temples. The images were designed to

foster citizen piety and facilitate worship; the beliefs reinforced loyalty and explained one's place in the cosmos; and the understanding of nature influenced the craftsmanship and presentation. Art, religion, and views of nature all blended in graceful, exquisitely sculpted images.

The overlap of religion with nature extended still further. Ancient sculpted images were often set up at natural sites such as a spring, special tree, or grove rather than inside a temple. The sacral setting within nature was a numinous realm, as Rudolf Otto identifies spiritual places marked off from the mundane parts of everyday practical life. At these special sites, the depictions of the gods were not just representations but their literal, animate presence. People would bring gifts in hopes of winning the god's favor in their confrontations with fate, have feasts with such wastefulness that they would hope to gain still greater abundance, or bring their illnesses for hours and even days of purification with the god sending remedies in a dream. The gods were not the all-powerful causes of problems or of their solutions; however, getting into right relations with them, or really with the natural forces that they embodied, would enable better conditions to emerge. Even the Hippocratics, honored in the modern world for their medical innovations and dedication, treated diseases as natural problems containing such spiritual dimensions.[33] Similarly, James and his peers went to water cures with expectations that the immaterial would mingle with the bodily conditions to enable better management of illnesses and other troubles. The modern sectarians did not make reference to local deities, but like the elder Henry James, they did similarly emphasize nature's powers beyond its material components, as would the young James in both his vocational work and his avocational studies and medical practices.

Many Victorians were also attracted to Greek art for offering the first work by human hands portraying individual likenesses. In their portraits, they brought the mute material of stone and metal to life, soberly displaying individual traits and personal character in naturalistic presentation that would continue to ring true across the ages—stunning craftsmanship and beautiful art. Most admirers of the Greeks in the nineteenth century had a general awareness of the pagan roots of these works but preferred to emphasize their secular refinement, beauty, and dignity; neutrality on religion was more appealing than highlighting a distinctly different spirituality. The Greeks' own motivation in their artwork, however, was not just aesthetic; they needed the presence of these images of gods and legendary heroes in their midst. Although they assumed that all of nature was permeated with

the divine, the images provided sacred points of contact with those higher powers, on which their lives depended. The polis was in a sense a religious association, and its shrines, with its sculpted images, were central to the city's identity.[34]

The natural and divine worlds intersected in fundamental ways. The Greeks were downright intimate with their gods, who were not easy to approach, but their help and support was vital for a thriving life. They could be best experienced and understood in the working processes of nature. Most of what we now call natural was known in ancient times as divine: different gods were identified with different forces in the universe, yet all of them together formed the cosmology; the gods were identified more for their power than their personality. For example, an ancient Greek would say during a thunder storm that "Zeus thunders." In fact, the historian Mott Greene has even assessed the stories of Greek mythology for their information on actual ancient natural events, such as volcanic eruptions, conveyed in story form. By personifying natural forces, the myth transmitted information about the natural world and let the contemporary hearer assimilate the disruptive facts into a more familiar narrative of gods in action. Visits to the temple offered yet more ways to feel at home with the gods and natural forces, since it was more than a place of worship; the ritual of *charis* or exchange of gifts and favors between mortals and gods sustained relations, keeping gods satisfied, even in a sense "chained" to their places.[35] Cosmic orientations provided by myths and temples have been factors in the cultural work of religions and other worldviews throughout history; James studied modern science for its empirical information about the natural world, and similarly searched for ways to feel at home in a cosmos defined in such terms.

Even the Greek philosophers did not question the prevailing pantheon conveyed in mythology and art. Most Greeks trusted their traditions, with the myths as respectable authorities. Moreover, they did not generally ask empirical questions about their historical truth. The philosophers, however, did not take the stories as seriously or as literally as did the average citizen; by accepting the myths as allegories, their stance parallels the outlook of modern religious intellectuals who have sought to purify religion of speculative extravagances while retaining the essential messages. For example, British writer James Anthony Froude in 1849 explicitly identified with the stance of the most illustrious Greek philosophers, declaring "What Plato says of the myths of the Greeks, I say of that of the Hebrews."[36] His

Christian faith endured, even as he distanced himself from the institutional church; and, like his ancient intellectual peers, he retained respect for the ancient revered stories of his culture but as mythologies rather than as factual accounts.

The Greeks did not feel a transcendental separation from their gods, and there was, in a similar way, a close identification between sculpture and person depicted, generally quite literally for the materials involved. The Greeks lived on a stony landscape, and they used hard metal tools in farming, building, and warfare. They regarded themselves as made of similar stuff. So, when they depicted their heroes and gods in life-size sculptures made out of bronze or stone, they did not even think of these objects as external representations of persons. The body was an assemblage of raw materials similar to those of the natural world, ranging from its watery fluids, to its stonelike bones, with the feelings expressed in the humid breath, and even the consciousness embodying a fragment of the spirit pervading nature. And in their art, the very being of the person, not just a symbolic representation, was expressed in the material of the statue; they not only worshiped in natural settings but also regarded themselves as made of natural stuff themselves.[37] When James identified the Greek polytheism that shaped the sense of harmony he observed in their art, he was also entering into evaluation of the whole Greek way of looking at the natural world, encompassing not only the Greeks' pantheon of gods but also their view of health, beauty, higher ideals, personal identity, and social relations. James found the sculptures inspiring because they did not strain to refer to something beyond themselves; the Greeks accepted, and struggled within, the constraints and abundance of the given world without longing for more beyond this world.

In James's reports on Greek polytheism in 1868, as with his review of Thomas Huxley in 1865, he highlighted a distinct way of looking at nature: naturalism without defiance of religion. In contrast with the predominant Western attention to an all-powerful deity creating and transcending the natural world, in ancient Greece multiple gods contributed expressive personalities within the natural world, with close integration of material and spiritual facets of life. The gods were uncountable in number and ranged from the local divinities of particular localities to the Olympian gods who directed major forces of nature. Dating back to archaic Greek times, the gods were "chthonic," which refers both to a set of gods of the earth rather than the sky and to the general tendency of the whole worldview to compre-

hend the sacred in immanent terms, as a component of the mysteries of earthly existence. The ancient narratives themselves evolved with the emergence of the Olympian pantheon of gods in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, overshadowing those archaic gods; they had more "glory and serenity," as British classicist Jane Harrison explained. While they still pervaded nature, they did undercut some of the even more intimate relations between the people and their gods from earlier times.[38] With these changes, some of the cardinal features of polytheism were already beginning to erode, a trend that would continue in the next few centuries.

The ancient Greek world retained a spirit of enchantment, peopled with personalities and pulsating with vital forces in the stuff of everyday life. James's interpretations point to the disenchantment of the world since ancient times. Max Weber argues this explicitly, as part of his analysis of the "radical elimination of magic from the world" through the rationalizing trends of modern times. Homer offered the classic expression of the enchanted Greek world; his *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, probably written in the eighth century BCE, depict the gods' contests and interventions in the human world; countless sculptures followed the narratives established in Homer's epics. Art was an essential form of expression because of its capacity to convey human ideals through truly beautiful depictions of this earthly world without reference to another world. Many late nineteenth-century artists and intellectuals, most prominently Friedrich Nietzsche, likewise placed art above religion for its capacity to reenchant the world.[39] While James did not fully endorse or adopt the Greek worldviews, he thoroughly admired their ability to mediate issues that have remained in tension or simply separate in modern times. In their personal identification with the natural world, the ancients found worldly and spiritual forces intermingled, providing humanity with good reason to feel at home in the world; and in the diversity of their pantheon, they were also ready to incorporate the divinities of new localities—a flexibility that also suggested their weakness.

Resisting the Modern Insolence toward Natural Existence

The flexibility of ancient worldviews, which had been a great strength, became increasingly a burden in the wake of Alexander the Great's conquests in the fourth century BCE, from the Aegean peninsula to the whole Near East, from Egypt to India. The spread of Greek culture to neighboring regions also brought a diversity of gods competing in diverse regions. The dissemination of deities extended still further with the Roman conquest of

Greece through the first century BCE and the growth of its domain over the whole Mediterranean world. The Romans adopted many facets of Greek culture, including its deities, and they had a similar openness to new and diverse religious views. The period from about 100 BCE to 200 CE was a high point of confident, cosmopolitan polytheism under Roman domination, with a spirituality rooted in this world, and an incorporation of diverse gods serving as an agent of imperial control of diverse cultures. In this setting, there was a whole range of spiritual movements that proposed single paths away from the dizzying array of polytheistic divinities. Many of them proposed a masculine redeemer who would transcend the claims of mere nature, which were often associated with the feminine. Of these movements, which included the Mysteries of Isis, Mithraism, hermeticism, and gnosticism, Christianity became the most persuasive force, leading to its domination of the Roman Empire itself by the fourth century CE.[40]

Emerging from the monotheism of Judaism, Christianity was absolutely uncompromising about the truth and power of one all-powerful God. Welcomed at first into the polytheistic Greco-Roman cosmology, Christianity did not tolerate the multiple gods surrounding it; and it also rejected polytheism's finite cosmos of earthly life. In the face of the limits of human existence, Christianity offered the promise of transcendence with its beliefs in God and afterlife. James endorsed mainstream historical interpretation in noting that this was how the new religion could appeal so strongly in the Roman world: feeling the limits of their merely finite and worldly goals, pagans turned to the redemptive religion of Christianity. By the twentieth century, revisionist challenges to this view of ancient anxiety producing a craving for monotheism have countered that Christianity also benefited from political and military factors, and that paganism did not dissipate so readily; even when Constantine adopted Christianity as emperor in 312, the empire was only 10 percent Christian. In the 1860s, however, James emphasized the power of Christian belief in salvation beyond this world; and he saw its triumph as the crucial turning point toward the attitude of longing that would characterize modern sensibilities. Yet aspects of premonotheistic comfort with this world would indeed endure, even within Christendom, notably with saints, feast days, traditional rituals, and carols, as well as in the immanentist doctrine of the incarnation of Christ, with God becoming a man—immaterial within the material indeed. Yet these worldly aspects of spirituality have generally had less influence in Christian history

than the tendency to devalue the serene acceptance of this world by fostering attention to God on high and human longing for the next world.[41]

James suggested that the loss of the ancient comfortableness with the natural world prompted a general disregard for natural experiences; he even said this "modern idea" brought an "insolence of life" for its belittling of our worldly existence as it is. And that spirit of insolence, he said pointedly, had "acquired . . . [its] shade of signification . . . since Christianity." In the atmosphere shaped by Christian longing, people since ancient times "attempt to exhaust thought by expression"; when that falls short, they strongly feel the pang of not being able to express all thoughts in words. By contrast, "the Greeks did not," because they were working with ideas that were not so ineffable.[42] As young James became more absorbed in the depths of his questions and the grandness of his distinctions between ancient and modern with their contrasting ways of comprehending the relation of nature and spirit, he turned to the modern world for comparative examples.

In the spring of 1868, when James was writing most intently about the ancients, he saw William Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, which was widely popular in nineteenth-century America and in Germany as well, where Prince Hamlet's deep reflections appealed strongly to poets and intellectuals especially since the romantic era. While James's trip to the theater would seem a diversion from his questions about ancients and moderns, viewing the play brought him right back to his persistent concerns: "Here again is the problem which I have had before me for the last few days." James's particular attraction was to the Danish prince himself, who provides "about as big an example as can be found" of a modern character with intense longing for something beyond the limits of our material life. The play "groans & aches so with the mystery of things, with the ineffable," the same word suggesting religious longing, now applied to Shakespeare's work, that he had applied to modern artists Rietschel, Raphael, and Michelangelo, each working in different media. Seeing the play amplified his inquiries. "But the Piece, Good God!" he blurted out about *Hamlet*; "It bursts & cracks at every seam." He admitted that "I may feel it the more for having been thinking of classical things lately—I was in the Cast collection again yesterday." And the play sharpened his sense that outlooks ancient and modern presented stark personal and intellectual choices: "[T]he question what is the difference between the Classical conception of life & art & that of wh[ich] Hamlet is an

example besets me more & more."[43] In the ambivalent prince, James found a leading man for his own intellectual drama about cultural losses since ancient times.

When viewing art, James thought of ancient serenity in contrast with modern craving for absolutes; when viewing *Hamlet*, he detected the effects of these modern outlooks on the ability to act with decisiveness. Prince Hamlet's troubles gave him a "fullness of emotion"; as with the modern turn to eagerness for absolutes, this produced an inability to explain with words, so "the attempt to express . . . adequately is abandoned" with disappointed despair. In addition, "action of any sort seem[s] to Hamlet inadequate and irrelevant to his feeling," which leaves the prince frozen in indecision. In sharp contrast with ancient calm serenity, the prince's feelings reach toward elusive goals, which James compares with the modern craving for absolutes, because in both cases, the hopes for expression or action remain ever out of reach. A public critic of James's private writings could fault him for straining to make connections among disparate topics; however, his task was neither scholarly precision nor public persuasion but personal wrestling. He was particularly intrigued with Hamlet and modern outlooks because of deep uncertainties about his own directions in life. Questions about Hamlet's mental health reignited his "doubt[s] about *my* sanity." Analyzing the great play and vast swaths of history would not solve his indecision, but it did help explain how the modern context of constant craving for something ultimate would make decisive articulation and action difficult. Consigned to life in modern times, but full of admiration for the graceful composure of the Greeks, James wondered if "the mode of looking on life of wh[ich] Hamlet is the expression [is] a final one or only a mid stage on the way to a new & fuller classical one." James's interpretation of ancients and moderns, from museum visits to theatergoing was not for academic analysis but was part of his hope to revive "the classical idea of man's harmony with nature" in his own time.[44] That classical mode could not be completely replicated, but maybe there could be a modern way to get more comfortable with earthly existence, which would also allow for more decisive beliefs and actions in the world. Now he saw these issues in himself, and he set out to change his ambivalent ways. The indecisive but searching James was hoping to be less like Hamlet and more like the Greeks—but what could enable this decisive turn?

Enlisting the Will and Letting Results Float Up

In the late 1860s when James was reflecting deeply on Hamlet and the Greeks, he had second thoughts about the value of reflection itself. Philosophical reflection, after all, especially the weighing of different choices, would undercut the will, and this was the crucial ingredient for acting decisively. He is famous for reading French philosopher Charles Renouvier and applying his defense of free will in 1870; but even before this influence, the significance of the will had already been an issue in his personal experiences. Encouraged by the absence of longing in ancient cultures and by sectarian medical approaches for managing ill health, he had for years given moral counsel to friends and family—and to himself—to deal with health problems by struggling through the temporary setbacks and aggravations that would lead to later improvement. No matter how bad, problems would not overwhelm as long as one maintained a resolute will, with expectations for managing the issues rather than seeking their absolute solution. Even earlier, he had used that same outlook when contemplating the difficulties of finding a vocation. Early during his stay in Germany, he exchanged uncertainties about careers with discussion partner Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, and he encouraged the budding lawyer by asserting, "I am firmly convinced that by going straight in almost any direction you can get out of the woods in which the young mind grows up." His own case was relevant since, even with his doubts, he was working "quite well . . . on the line of practical medicine."[45]

Near the end of his European trip, James gave his Brazil travel companion Tom Ward an account of his own minor accomplishments before advocating the importance of courage and firmness of will even during such small steps: "All I have done in the last six months is to keep up the dribbling I recommend to you and little as each day seems the sum total is not disrespectful." Then he urged with brittle insistence: "[D]on't give up the fight *even if you are getting licked*." The key was persistence in pursuit of vocational goals, and so a little at a time would add up; "1 hour, 2 hours a day if kept up" would carry him far, he added with a hopefulness that also applied to himself. And in another letter where James reported his own discouragement, he again urged Ward to "persevere as you have been doing for the past year and all will go well."[46] His reasons for relying on persistence paralleled his objections to idealism: long-term results, like glistening ideals, are elusive and unknowable; more important is the experience of the

process on the way toward those goals, with each step a slow-motion part of the probabilistic long-term trend, and as correctable as his own work of scientific inquiry. He was making choices based on thinking that would shape his later theories.

James continued to lace his career advice with propositions that would contribute to his philosophizing. Toward elusive vocational goals, he insisted, "Results shd. not be too voluntarily aimed at or too busily thought of." Meanwhile, he had to take it on faith that "from a long enough daily work at a given matter," some decent results—with particulars unforeseen—would be "*sure* to float up of their own accord." His point was to urge that "the work as a mere occupation ought to be the primary interest." Admiring the German science he was studying, he suspected that this policy of persistence was "the secret of [G]erman prowess." As he continued to read physiology and hope for work in psychology, he came to expect setbacks, but he tried to build up his confidence without waiting on particular accomplishments, in the same spirit as his later theory of "precursive faith" in "The Will to Believe." The germ of his concise theoretical statement in that 1896 essay, "faith in a fact can help create the fact," was already present in the experience of his 1860s hope to generate faith that some vocational results would emerge from his daily searching work: "[E]ven when you seem to yourself to be making no progress, . . . if you but go on in your own uninteresting way they must bloom out in their good time." Just as the later essay was not simply advice to create beliefs wholesale, so his youthful urge to reduce worry about results did not ignore physical factors and tangible constraints, nor blithely reject planning for future vocational directions. Instead, letting results float up spurred his motivation to face the future despite present discouragements—and even to work within them—because it "gave me a willingness to work where I saw no object to be gained." This outlook, he reported, had a "potent effect in my inner life." Even when he had little yet to show for it, he felt confident that in time "the result would come up as it were of its own accord." When writing to his fellow student of physiology, Henry Bowditch, he offered the solace that, "however discouraging the work of each day may seem, stick at it long enough, and you'll wake up some morning,—a physiologist." In *Principles of Psychology* (1890), James virtually quotes his private writing of twenty-two years earlier: "Let no youth have any anxiety about the upshot of his education. . . . If he keep faithfully busy each hour of the working day, he may safely leave the final result to itself." Before he had a label for it or details of argumentation to

describe it, young James had developed his own private will to believe in the vocational path he was on, even though he had few results yet in evidence. Already in the 1860s, his nascent theory provided a way to cope with limited knowledge and ambiguity, and this posture would allow him to act with purpose, a teleological orientation, but without the expectation of prior or ideal goals guiding that purpose. His would be a future-oriented teleology because those results and that purpose would be in a future still in the making, a usable theory for young James.[47] He could not escape being reflective, so he turned to reflective solutions for the problems of reflection.

While speculating about his personal direction, James focused on a key element for his goal: "[A]ll moral action, of course, even if its direction be distorted shows the possibility of Freedom." Such freedom would allow for working toward the future with deliberate choices along the way rather than by following fixed goals. But it was one thing to counsel others about letting results float up; how could he summon his own spirit of freedom when he felt so burdened by indecision, theoretical confusion, vocational constraints, and health problems? In his private writing, his mind raced ahead of his current circumstances as he hoped for decisive action despite the immediate burdens of his current fate. These constraints on his freedom had created, as he said with studied understatement, his gap "between Will and performance." He used German words to amplify his points: "[T]he shall (sollen), . . . in the shape of fate [including] moral or natural law, is to the individual . . . despotic & oppressive," because "the person, considered f[ro]m. the side of . . . shall, is limited, determined to a particular course." By contrast, the willful choices based on individual intentions (associated with the German word *wollen*) can potentially bring freedom from fate, since "the person [who] wills is unlimited." His attention to will was not, however, as yet very liberating in practice since these thoughts reminded him of his reflections on Hamlet as an example of a modern character struggling with "an inadequate will," just like his own. His inquiries about German words and the Danish prince reminded him of the weakness of his own will even as he longingly admired the significance of volition's power in theory. Through advice to friends, and to himself, he had set up his goal, still on theoretical grounds, for acting with will, first by focusing on small daily steps and letting go of expectations for results. However, as long as his will remained weak, his admiration for volitional power would leave him as just another modern case of mere longing—with a decided "disproportion . . . between Will & performance."[48] James could only apply his theory of will

once he could overcome his own Hamlet problem. He could not just talk himself into a strong will; already showing his philosophical inclinations, reflective James needed a framework to justify its role.

The Stoic Will within the Vast Machinery of the World

In his admiring glances at the ancients, James reached for their inspirations but found them difficult to grasp. The natural grace of Greek art provided models for living comfortably with natural experiences that would enable action without worry, but without a practical framework, he could not find a way to achieve this stance, until he discovered the ancient philosophy of Stoicism. Its advocates posited divine immanence in the world with proposals to adjust personal lives to the order of nature—in particular, Stoics urged contentment with things that could not be changed. This ancient philosophy served effectively as a major religious orientation in the Greco-Roman world during the centuries before and after the birth of Jesus. Stoic insights complemented the spiritual message James found in Greek art. Without seeking transcendental redemption, the Stoic goal, as James noticed, was to live "a life in which your individual will becomes so harmonized to nature's will" that you "cheerfully . . . acquiesce in whatever she assigns to you." He did not yet know his own vocational or personal purpose, but he admired the Stoic proposal to quell the longing, "knowing that you serve *some* purpose in her vast machinery wh[ich]. will never be revealed to you."[49] Proposing willful commitment despite uncertainties, Stoicism spoke directly to James's chief concerns in the 1860s.

James's first known encounter with Stoicism was in 1863, when he recorded pithy insights of Epictetus, a Greek sage living in Rome from the late first to second century CE. The Stoic philosopher lived in simplicity, early on literally as a slave in Rome, and then, with few possessions, as a teacher without even writing down his thoughts. His students eagerly recorded his teachings, although he himself had little concern for publication or posterity, because his passion was for philosophy as a guide to life. We have no power over the world's impact on us, he insisted in his powerful oral discourses, but "we, not externals, are the masters of our judgments." James became an eager student of Epictetus as well, recording many of his teachings in a notebook also containing notes on the evolution of ancient religions, modern theories of scientific materialism, and Christian theology. James indicated his understanding of the personal uses that Stoics made for philosophical reflection when he paraphrased Epictetus's recommendation that

a philosopher's "first card should be the ease and quiet of his own breast." The young science student found inspiration for his emerging resolution not to worry about results in Epictetus's advice that it would be "a less evil for you that your servant or child should be vicious than that you your self should be perpetually unhappy with an anxious care to prevent it." James took to heart Epictetus's prediction that "I am in his power who can gratify my wishes and inflict my fears," as he was trying to strengthen his will to fortify his own direction in life.[50]

Some of Epictetus's words that James recorded had particular resonance in the early 1860s; Epictetus had lived as a slave, physically in the power of others, but he spoke of a form of slavery beyond legal title: "Not to be a slave then, I must have neither Desire nor aversion for anything in the power of others." While clearly not as severe as chattel slavery, such psychological slavery from giving up one's own thoughts and feelings also brought a servile posture with passive subordination to another's will. In the antislavery James family, younger brothers Wilkie and Bob worked against the American institution of slavery itself, and William, more like his father, portrayed the intellectual burdens of slavery. When he recorded the words of Epictetus in 1863, the Northern war purpose was turning toward abolition of slavery; William James did not serve in the war, but he shows his affiliation with the independent spirit of the free-labor ideology that would dominate the Union cause, here expressed in the stringent terms of Stoic self-understanding: "[D]espise . . . everything out of your own power." The American version of this focus on personal power spurred the military push for total war against the power of slaveholders and fostered the African American quest for personal liberty, and it would encourage the private initiative of American capitalism.[51] Young James's version of this ideology, expressed in the accent of ancient philosophy, was for personal direction; Stoicism would help him develop the power of his will.

When James returned in 1866 from his natural history expedition in Brazil to resume the study of medicine, he was again attracted to Stoicism. His brother Henry pointed out, in a review of a recent edition of Epictetus, that Stoicism was a philosophy that was "in effect not a philosophy" but a set of insights fostering the view that one's "attitude of mind was a refuge"; Henry held out particular praise for Marcus Aurelius, a student of Epictetus. That same year, William James "began . . . to read the thoughts of the Roman Stoic Marcus Aurelius." James even spoke of Marcus's *Meditations* as if it were good medicine, with doses of it taken slowly and deliberately,

"two or three pages a day." He was already thinking about the themes he would state with admiration about the Greeks in his diary two years later: Marcus Aurelius "certainly had an invincible soul" because he lived a "life according to nature." During this season when the Civil War was still a fresh memory, James enlisted the Stoic philosophy to address his commitment to philanthropic purpose in almost military terms: "The stoic feeling of being a sentinel obeying orders without knowing the General's plans is a noble one." The Stoic "General" was fate, and James's "sentinel" position was scientific study. Even before starting his studies, he had already declared, "I want . . . to do some good, no matter what" with science. Now he was training to make that hope real, and Stoicism gave him a framework for understanding that, when "I make my *nick*" in some vocational contribution whether large or small, this would be the way to "assert my reality." He wrote to his friend Ward urging the Stoic outlook with words that also served as advice to himself: "I think old Mark's perpetual yearnings for patience and equanimity & kindliness w[oul]d. do your heart good." Marcus's message was to live life "easily & patiently, without feeling responsible for [the] future." While James still did not know which career he would take up, the ancient perspective as reinforced by Stoic philosophy was helping him to realize that these uncertainties were not some burden to be overcome; instead, his path could itself become the goal. Inspired by Stoicism, he would continue his daily tasks, namely learning human physiology with excursions into philosophy; such efforts, "no matter . . . his lot in life," as the Stoics asserted, would "be a pleasing spectacle." These ancient inspirations gave him "a pretty practical contentment," even though "I cannot help feeling as if I were insulting Heaven."[52] He realized that his reflections were taking him beyond the religious mainstream.

These ideas could well seem like an insult to mainstream American Christianity. Stoicism was founded in Athens three hundred years before Jesus; although Marcus Aurelius lived more than a century after the inauguration of the Common Era marked by the birth of Jesus, he felt almost no impact from Christianity, since this fast-growing religion from Palestine was still a marginal movement within the Roman Empire in 121 CE when Marcus was born. The Greek philosopher Zeno of Citium, who first developed Stoicism, came of age shortly after the reign of Alexander the Great, whose fierce conquests also created cosmopolitan mingling of cultures. Zeno took worldly existence as the context for his program of moral action; and in the chaos of the social changes around him, he advocated personal disci-

pline to find happiness by remaining steadfast to one's internal state no matter what was happening all around. Cicero in first-century CE Rome was instrumental in disseminating Stoicism in the Roman Empire, where its outlooks reinforced popular Roman virtues. Marcus encountered Stoicism from travel to Greece during one of his military campaigns and still more deeply through the teachings of his teacher, Epictetus.[53]

At the core of Stoicism was a belief that everything exists from the power of and in conformity with universal Nature, also named with words that can be translated as Reason, Logos, Destiny, Creative Fire, God, Providence, Soul of the World, or just the All. This spiritual power in the universe was infinite in space and time, like a set of rational laws of development, or conditions of all existence; although this power was not personal, that did not displace discussion of the gods, especially Zeus. The Stoics approached the gods as did most Greeks, as the personal representation of abstract forces of nature. References to Zeus or translations of the All as God were particularly popular in the Christian era because they contributed to a perception that Stoicism was not incompatible with Christianity or was even a historical stage toward the religion of Jesus Christ. Emphasizing the interpretation of pre-Christian sensibilities anxious because of their lack of transcendent references, Matthew Arnold even presented "Marcus Aurelius . . . agitated, stretching out his arms for something beyond." Stoicism did in fact influence Christianity, especially in standards of morality and in respect for the individual.[54] However, Stoicism was decidedly unlike Christianity in its compatibility with polytheism and its commitment to an immanent spiritual force, distinct from a transcendent and monotheistic God.

The Stoic philosophy had three aspects: physics, logic, and ethics. These could be separated only for teaching and learning; in life, they intermingled seamlessly. Physics dealt not only with the view of physical things themselves but also with the structure of the cosmos that housed them, somewhat like modern theology. Because Reason pervaded the world, it was immanent in matter, imparting harmony in all parts and within the whole—just what James detected in Greek sculpture. "This mutual integration is a universal principle," as Marcus put it, adding that "a myriad of causes combine into the single Cause which is destiny." This singleness was not a personal being but the action of "all things . . . with one movement," each serving as the "cooperating cause . . . of all" in the "structure of the web." There was no absolute distinction between Reason and the rest of the universe; Reason was simply the most cohesive and creative component—and humanity's

path for understanding. The Soul of the World sustained and pervaded all things, which contained the creative fire in degrees: inanimate things with the least; plants with more; and animals with still more in their rudimentary ability to reason; with their rational capacity, humans bear some similarity to the Soul of the World itself. Marcus described it as "that inward divinity, that particle of himself, which Zeus has given to every man." The human ability to reason suggested the second aspect of Stoic philosophy, logic, which referred to the rules for finding truth. Rigorous truth claims were important to ensure the coherence of judgments, and philosophical use of Reason was the way to "establish what is true." The Stoics argued for the existence of the divine because, if something exists that is more complex than the capacity of the human mind, this must have emerged from reasoning that surpasses the human.[55]

Physics and logic were essential factors in the makeup of their ethics, the third and most important element of their philosophy. This was especially true of the Roman Stoics, and Marcus in particular emphasized personal discipline and character development in his commitment to Stoicism. Their ethics was built on the Stoic attention to Reason; this awesome immanent force gives humans the ability to reflect about and analyze the world around them and to make free choices. This capacity lifts humans above the tangled and mysterious vicissitudes of life and into the distinctive realm governed by human volition.[56] The world's destiny operates by chance forces that are beyond human comprehension, only fully understandable from the perspective of the All. That comprehensive perspective is ever out of reach of human understanding or control, but our will is a precious island in the All, the only spot removed from this sea of chance. James was drawn to both the Stoic cosmic picture of Reason in the world and the commanding role for the will in human life.

From this picture, the Stoics developed their central ethical dictum, a fundamental distinction between what does and what does not depend on human power. We cannot control the direction of the world and most of what happens to us, but we can control our own wills. This fire within defines the self, and with enough discipline, it is an almost impregnable fortress; it is also a gatekeeper since the will controls what enters the mind. The Stoics had a very bald, uncomplicated view of this psychological process: they advocated adopting only adequate or objective mental representations, ones that, from their perspective, correspond directly to reality. Their point was to emphasize peering directly at objects and events in the world by

"penetrating into them and exposing their real nature," as opposed to looking at them with perceptions clouded by our hopes and personal values, which inevitably bring false judgments. Taking a perception of something as it is and stripping it of the "cloak of verbiage that dignifies it" will bring a direct grasp of reality; while this approach can seem naïve by comparison with modern psychological views of underlying motivations and skepticism about objectivity, it also has a robust experiential directness: put aside wishful expectations that distract from the main course of events. They expressed these ideas with blunt bodily statements that would have appealed to James's eagerness to understand the role of physiology within psychology and spirituality; for example, Epictetus asserted that "you are nothing but a little soul carrying a cadaver."[57] While physical facts set limits, the Stoics pointed beyond material constraints to the personal will that orchestrated the otherwise powerless body.

With this standard for reality in natural facts, and the advice to be concerned only with what we can control, the Stoics proposed that it is not things that trouble us but only our judgments or representations of them—or, really, our illusions: most people are weighed down by feelings of longing, regret, or frustration, even though these are the very parts of the situation that we can control. From this outlook flowed the well-known Stoic view that we should be happy with the present and not expend useless thoughts on what is beyond our grasp, since such striving will simply result in fruitless worry and wasted effort. An upshot of this was that the Stoics advocated finding contentment in life, no matter one's material condition, even to the point of physical suffering. If the condition was really beyond one's control, it should be treated with indifference; if not, Epictetus observed, "I make a slave of myself" to the things out of reach. However, living life within the limits of one's own control, with full recognition of human finitude, could give mere mortals the opportunity to live a godlike existence, with absolute control over their own domains. This liberating tough-mindedness also gave Stoicism a reputation for sternness; but despite the proverbial "stoical" attitudes toward suffering, the philosophers themselves adopted this posture not in resignation but with a drive to serve humanity. This riveted attention to dignity within each person prompted the Stoics to produce some of the first philosophical commitments to universal respect for the human worth of all people no matter their condition; from Zeno's initial impulses to find serenity in chaos, the Stoics struggled against injustices, which are, in effect, the world's lack of serenity.[58]

For the Stoics, the point of doing philosophy was not to construct refined arguments or even to have anything written down. Instead, philosophy was a practical tool for guiding one's life. As Martha Nussbaum has pointed out, Stoicism was among the Hellenistic theories that had medical conceptions of the philosophic vocation: argumentation would serve as therapy for identification of the diseases of belief and judgment that plague mankind and would foster guidance through the thoughts and actions that will heal those diseased perceptions; James read daily doses of Marcus Aurelius in just this spirit, and while he was studying medicine no less. Cicero called Stoic philosophy "a medical art for the soul," and with this intellectual therapy, we are "capable of doctoring ourselves." Marcus had first become attracted to the moral toughness and personal commitment of the Stoic outlook in his youth, and he converted during his twenty-fifth year. He became especially devoted to this guiding outlook during his reign as emperor, which began fifteen years later in 161 CE; although he enjoyed the privileges of power, the weighty responsibilities of his position also felt like a prison. The duties were particularly difficult because this was a time when Rome was enduring early phases of severe challenge to its vast geographic reach. He wrote the *Meditations* in Greek, in the tradition of *hypomnēmata*, or personal notes, in order to keep his philosophical bearings during the turmoil of his reign; in fact, he wrote the notes that make the book while on a military campaign in 170–180 CE in contemporary Serbia and Hungary—in other words, he wrote for himself while far from home and under duress. He never intended publication, and he did not even include a title. Over the centuries, these notes have been printed in many editions with many titles, each pointing to aspects of his purpose in writing: "On His Life," "Moral Life," "On the Duty of Life," "Notes Which He Wrote for Himself," "About Himself to Himself," "Paths toward Himself," or simply "To Myself"; and a translation under its more familiar title even became a bestseller in 2002. Marcus gave "proof of his learning," as ancient historian Herodian said in appreciation of Stoic goals, by the "temperate way of life" that he presented with transparent simplicity. The text provided James with a model for coping with his own challenges.[59]

The lived philosophy and practical purposes of the *Meditations* explain several striking features of the emperor's reflective work, including its lack of any special order, its continuous repetitions, and its frequent use of quotations. These were part of Marcus's deliberate efforts to control his inner discourse for self-persuasion in order to fulfill the Stoic dictum to distinguish

what he could influence from what he could not. These hastily composed notes—and they almost certainly remained that way until after Marcus's death, when his supporters edited them for public distribution—bear some similarity to James's diary entries; both works were personal notes, unselfconscious, unpolished, and not intended for publication, but they have flashes of deep insight, and they were each the recordings of deeply reflective men trying to muster and maintain a philosophy of life that would serve as a guide in a sea of turmoil—albeit in very different settings. The timing of James's reading of the *Meditations* and the similarly reflective character of his diary entries on the ancients suggest that he may have been influenced in the composition of his notes by Marcus's method itself. James even used Marcus's approach to philosophy as a kind of inner citadel for personal striving: by 1870, when James was particularly discouraged about his prospects, he wrote, "[I]n that inner solitary room of communion with his own good will, there lies for every man comfort"—and there also lies the site for "battling with misfortune."[60] He certainly admired the ancient Roman, and he would have known that, for a Stoic, writing directional thoughts to oneself would be part and parcel of philosophy as a way of life, not just as abstract theorizing. The Stoic willingness to regard the work of philosophy as a means for treating unhealthy frames of mind served James as edifying personal therapy, much like his use of alternative medical therapies.

James's admiration for Stoic philosophy continued to appear in his private and public writings. He sometimes referred to its ideas, especially about the will's inner citadel, without even mentioning Stoic names. For example, shortly after arriving in Germany during the fall of 1867, he paused from his study of psychology to read literature, which inspired a spirit of "compromise with the nature of things." When he was back home in 1869 studying for his medical degree, he wrote to his friend Henry Bowditch with extended worries about the small amount of studying he was able to do. Then he stopped himself short with the comment, "I've done what I can, and it[']s a mean thing for a man to fret, about what is accidentally & externally imposed on him." Whether or not James's troubles were fully imposed externally, Epictetus or Marcus could not have better expressed the need to resign oneself to things beyond one's control. A few years later, after his darkest discouragements, James even remembered the ancients at a light moment, in admiration for the family dog for his "roman firmness and independence of his character." Toward the end of his life, he gave Marcus's *Meditations* as a gift, declaring its Stoic outlooks "creditable to human nature"

and full of "comfort in extreme old age."[61] From daily life to the deepest of reflections, James's youthful inspirations from Stoicism would remain a constant touchstone. This ancient philosophy, with worldly settings for immaterial forces, would supply him with encouragement for his own will to believe before he would develop the theory: Stoicism brought the edifying demand to stand with the power of his will even when burdened by imposing constraints.

The Ancient Dispensation and Prospects for Finite Absoluteness

As William James became established in his personal life and in his career, he made fewer references to the ancients. In 1873 he applied his characteristic ambivalence to his youthful fascination: "It's the most idiotic thing in the world to say *on[e]* thing about either antiquity or civilization." And yet his interest in the ancients persisted, dispersing into his later thoughts. By the mid-1870s, he was already acting on many of the insights he had gleaned from the ancients, and he was weighing the characteristics of both ancient and modern times for construction of his own decisive integration of their messages. Rather that choosing one correct outlook, he learned from each; he found a deep paradoxical significance in diverse and even clashing views: "[N]othing is true unless with the admission that its opposite is also true." The ancients would become major factors within his convictions about the importance of mediating contrasts and avoiding generalized abstractions, both as one perspective among others and for their tolerant messages themselves. Even at the peak of his youthful interest, he had not fully adopted ancient views, and then as his interests dissipated, the attractions of his youth remained a touchstone for much of his thinking. British philosopher F. H. Bradley called the religious strands of James's mature philosophy "good Stoicism," and James himself occasionally referred to his commitment to the will as "my stoicism"; but he chaffed at the "hardness" of this ancient outlook, "which sometimes oppresses me."[62] Despite the appeal of Stoicism, he searched for more.

James balanced his admiration for Stoic views of nature and the sturdiness of the human will with critiques about why Stoicism did not endure beyond ancient times, and even with some sharply worded denigration. In his psychological texts of the 1890s, James identified the Stoic readiness to "dispossess yourself . . . of all that was out of your own power" as a way to illustrate the profile of rather "unsympathetic characters" who "*retract* . . .

their Me," a position that generates a "definiteness in the outline" of the self as consolation "for the smallness of its content." But he also acknowledged that this resolve gave the Stoics heroic courage "without fear" even to face one's own death. In *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), James gave psychological expression to the mainstream historical interpretation that the ancient Greeks and Romans "knew no joys comparable in quality of preciousness" with those of "twice-born people whose religion is non-naturalistic," born again to transcendent forces much loftier than those of the here and now. Citing religions with such "renunciation" of merely earthly existence, he also went beyond the mainstream in referring to these twice-born commitments held not only by Christians but also by "Brahmans, Buddhists, . . . and Mohammedans." By contrast, the "consciousness [of the] Greek or Roman . . . even in Homeric times was full to the brim" with "sad mortality" from being only once-born creatures of "this sunlit world." Despite all their august achievements, the ancients could offer no hope for "another and a better world."[63] Yet their focus on depths of meaning in nature provided a resource for his program of future science, in critique of scientific tendencies to reduce experience to material forces.

James's attraction to the ancient views of nature provided ways to cope with his simultaneous respect for science and curiosity about the role of immaterial forces in life. He envied the ancients' absence of longing, and he relished the German romantic writer Friedrich Schiller's characterization of the naïve yet graceful posture of the ancients; but he was fully aware that these perspectives had been eclipsed with the growing authority of modern science and even since ancient times after religions of transcendence had come to dominate. James admired mainstream religions not with full endorsement but with respectful acknowledgment of their deep human appeal. In the 1870s, he called his posture an "attitude . . . of deference rather than of adoption," but from "sheer stress," he himself was sometimes attracted to such religious assurance, even if not as "an everyday comfort." While the great faiths generally offered absolute convictions with renunciation of nature, James himself was more attracted to the attitude of the ancients, who had a cosmopolitan tolerance of different beliefs and a spirituality of nature. In 1869 his cousin and good friend Mary (or Minny) Temple said even more sharply what James was already feeling: institutional religions clearly appealed to many with "the 'remote possibility' of the best thing"—namely, the glory of redemption into a transcendent afterlife. Temple, a self-professed modern "pagan," was willing to "put . . . up with the second-best,"

by embracing "that which Stoicism gives," in effect, "heaven to-day." Temple called this a "higher truth, the purer spirituality," akin to the "larger, purer view of the Supernatural" that James in 1865 had already hoped would emerge from a nonreductionist approach to science. His brother Henry James was enchanted by the boldness of this "pet theory," while William himself more thoroughly pursued these ideas that there might be something truly awesome, even transcendent, circulating within nature itself.[64]

At the time of his greatest enthusiasm for the Greeks, James boldly speculated, "if God is dead or at least irrelevant, ditto everything pertaining to the 'Beyond' "; and in his impatience with transcendence, he would sometimes even bellow "Damn Divinity & divines." Yet rather than dwell on criticism of church institutions, he more often wanted to learn from them, in order to understand "some of the proud absoluteness which made them so venerable." Religions with absolute beliefs that rely for their authority on otherworldly powers transcending the fallible natural world have provided humanity with great confidence, inspiration, and comfort. By contrast, the religious spirit of the ancients, for all their natural grace, provided no such sturdy reference points, so life's burdens remained squarely on human shoulders, with no ability to rely on higher powers for uplift or relief. Each orientation clearly had shortcomings, but each also had sterling merits; James's mediating impulse was compelling and fueled his hope for an outlook that drew from both. He focused on natural settings, in reliance on a stoical framework, combined with the insights of modern science; and in that worldly arena, the "sentiment of philanthropy," a passion to improve the world, could replicate the absoluteness of traditional religion by similarly reaching toward higher ideals.[65]

This philanthropic hope was of a piece with his program of future science and his eagerness for a larger view of the supernatural, and it drew upon both. This philanthropic impulse was the very spark, fostered by his father, that had first motivated his own study of science; and its grand goals would emerge on small scales: it was a sentiment to which every person can contribute "in proportion to his gifts & the way he uses them." These human gifts, set in finite nature, would contribute to ideals shaped in the making, not derived from fixed absolutes directed by higher forces; James enacted this goal in his own personal development when resolving to work toward his own vocational ideal by letting go of short-term results. For each person with these commitments, "Man is his own Providence . . . and every individual a real god" in the sense that Stoics proposed with the fire of Reason

manifesting especially when individuals live true to their inner citadel. Within this naturalistic understanding, but with commitment to ideals of human betterment beyond the everyday, mankind could live with a worldly Providence, and "get at something absolute without going out of your own skin." James's hope for such a "finite absoluteness" was his raw youthful spiritual goal, inspired by his admiration for both Stoic philosophy and religious ideals, and by his naturalistic work in science; and in the 1860s, this hope suggested the direction of his thinking in both science and religion.[66]

James approached religion within, beyond, and even beneath church life, religion as mankind's search for meaning "in the ground of the universe"; out of these mysterious depths, different religions have emerged with "all the gods, . . . authoriz[ing]" different church doctrines, each providing clues about the cosmic whole. He did not dismiss traditional religions, as did many of his intellectual peers, but he also maintained that those traditions do not exhaust ways to find religious meaning. Empirical methods, generally associated with modern science, could provide still more clues within this worldly theater of potential hopes and ideals. When teaching a philosophy class in 1904–5, James linked his youthful program for future science to an empiricism that could be "interpreted religiously . . . and . . . moralistic[ally]," just as he had noticed in the ancients. His point was to set up his approach to gathering the facts of experience by contrast with most modern empiricism, generally allied with secular or antireligious thinking. Toward the end of his life, in *A Pluralistic Universe* (1909), James declared that empiricism, the empiricism of his program of future science, the "thicker and more radical empiricism" of his mature theorizing, could readily be a "natural ally . . . of the religious life." He even forecast that if such empiricism could become "associated with religion," rather than "with irreligion," a "new era of religion" would begin, supporting the more expansive spirituality he had hoped for in his youth.[67]

James's radical empiricism essays defined that approach to empiricism, and *The Varieties* applied it, with a method he called his "science of religions." James acknowledged that many people "believe in a . . . beyond" without question, but rather than scrutinize the truth or falsity of those beliefs, he generalized from the "proud absoluteness" of belief in transcendence to define religion as the human search for something "more," a broad description applying to things absolute, either within or beyond our own skin. While the more is beyond our full comprehension and may very well be beyond nature, we can access it only through our experience, through attention, in

the spirit of Stoicism, to the fires within. In particular—namely, within all the abundant particulars of varieties of religious practices—the complex depth of the human mind, in its subconscious subliminal realm, serves as a "doorway" to potentially "higher powers," even as those powers have been understood in various ways in different cultures. The subliminal is at once a natural fact, a part of human psychology, and yet as elusive as the transcendent references of religious claims; it is the transcendent within, in effect, an "inscendent" realm. These depths of consciousness that James studied in his psychology and explained in his evaluation of religion effectively fulfilled his youthful search for finite absoluteness—the subliminal within human psychology serving as something absolute without going out of your own skin indeed.[68]

With depth psychology, James identified the site of religious experience, but he remained as humbly uncertain about what lay beyond the doorway of consciousness as he had during the uncertainties of his youth; human consciousness in ever greater degrees of complexity lay on the naturalistic "*hither* side" of those subliminal depths, but the "*farther* side" he recognized as a place of compelling mystery. He proposed that religious traditions and sublime realms of idealism have their origins at that threshold to mystery, pointing to opportunities for enrichment but also to human limitation; and they offer guidance—positive or negative—throughout the challenges of life. The religious path James began in the 1860s contributed to still more of his mature philosophy. For example, pragmatism was at once an epistemology for orienting inquiry to consequences and an outlook that "widens the field of search for God": with the empiricism of his science of religion, James was ready to look for the divine beyond august realms "in the very dirt of private fact."[69] By contrast, most naturalistic philosophies simply call off the search. His linkage between inquiry and mystery, starting with the subconscious boundary between them, also fostered his awareness that religion was not the only human encounter with realms of deep significance. In addition, the complexities of nature would supply the settings for human engagement with countless wonders, uncertainties, and difficulties; each of these can serve as starting points for spiritual relations with the world, and each of these has also been addressed, in degrees, through the progress of science. All these human enterprises—philosophy, religion, and science—can offer insights into the world of experience, he persistently proposed, but no one of them provides the last word.

With his psychological evaluation of spiritual experiences, James admired and made use of materialist inquiry into religion; his objection to "medical materialism" was directed toward any eagerness to present such assumptions as reasons for definitive wholesale debunking of religion, based on positivist confidence in scientific truth. Instead of such absolutism, he regarded each religious tradition as "a syllable in human nature's total message"; each "faith-venture" could serve as an experiential resource, each another way—but a limited way—to "bring the evidence in," for clues about the mysteries of the "more." The mature James summarized his own orientation by rewording his 1868 hope for finite absoluteness: his own theory at once "restores to philosophy the temper of science and of practical life," and also "brings the ideal *into things*," immaterial ideals understood within material things, readily experienced in natural life, and both appreciated spiritually and evaluated scientifically. It was just this integration of material and ideal realms that had already attracted him to the Greeks years before; in 1868, he declared that the ancients were "far greater 'Positivists' than any now," just as naturalistic, but "greater" because ready to look for the immaterial factors within the material world. And James welcomed modern equivalents. The English writer John Morley leavened his own positivism with "a thoroughly sympathetic intelligence" and "a keen sense of the beautiful"; in short, as James stated in 1872, Morley had "that imponderable superfluity, *grace*," just like the Greeks.[70] By contrast, modern scientific enthusiasts increasingly reduced ideals to material forces with no further concern for wider ranges of human experience.

The Cosmic Kinship of Science and Religion

Even with his alternative ideas, James noticed ways that traditional religions also engaged in some mingling of the natural with the transcendent, at least in theologies of immanence, but even within the grandest claims for absolutism. "We have no revelation but through man," James was already declaring in 1868, paraphrasing Max Müller, whose works in the history of languages and religion he had started reading five years before, because "*every thing* we know & are is through men," including dramatic religious experiences. Like the empirical facts of scientific inquiry, such spiritual experiences are the raw material for religious beliefs; but even the most transcendent beliefs need to be transmitted through some human experience. This was a version of his lifelong deflation of abstract ideals as he maintained that any person's "[i]deal is made up of traits suggested by past men's words and

actions." He both attended to the constructed character of ideals and maintained their importance; so he did not treat such inquiries as reasons to dismiss the efforts, since, "however mean man may be, man is *the best we know*." This was not a statement of regret in the spirit of settling for flawed human beings; instead, he felt an exuberance for his fellow striving primates, adding enthusiastically, "I like human nature." He even went on to call *The Varieties of Religious Experience* "A Study in Human Nature," clearly announcing his naturalistic path into the topic. In "The Will to Believe," he paraphrased his youthful observations still more sharply: for most people, "faith is faith in someone else's faith." This would form the basis for the whole framework of his study of religious experiences: most people rely on religious institutions and their founders for their spiritual direction; this is religion "at second-hand," derived from someone else indeed. By contrast, his own focus would be on religious figures who have had "direct personal communion" with spiritual depths at first hand, encounters with what he called the experience of "more" beyond the everyday, and with boldness to inspire followers.[71] Even these profound experiences, even those claimed to be transcendent, must pass through very human material; James was eager to understand the construction of those exalted beliefs and ideals, based on that experiential "more," whether beyond or within—or both.

Ancient finite absoluteness and religious traditions, along with scientific investigations, all reflect the primal human urge to find depths of meaning in the world; and young James's "deference [without] adoption" about religion served pragmatically to foster appreciation of such depths no matter the sources. His support of the importance of religion in general came with distance from particular traditional religions. His positions grew not from opposition to traditions but from investigation beneath them, through depth psychology, to find their sources and relations. In his youth, depth of history directed his attention to this psychological perspective; he was attracted to the ancients for examples of just that kind of "mother sea and fountain-head of all religions," which he would describe in *The Varieties* as the "absolute realities" that different religions have put humanity "in contact with." James was subscribing to an early, historically based version of what philosopher of science and religion Ian Barbour describes as the "identity of essence" theory of diverse religions, with commonalities despite "differing cultural forms"; however, with James's emphasis on experience over abstraction, he would talk more of commonality of source material rather than identity of essence. Scholarship in the history of religions in James's

own time already supported his psychological interpretations with its suggestion of the kindred functions of spiritual paths across cultures and across times. He was very conversant with the growing literature, reading Max Müller, adding books on ancient religion to his reading lists, and learning from Charles Rockwell Lanman and meetings of the Harvard History of Religions Club. Alongside his fascination with the ancient art and philosophy of the Mediterranean, he was also attracted to ancient South Asian "vedic religion" at the roots of Hinduism with mingling of material and immaterial parts of life. As with the Western examples he studied more closely, "Vedic doctrine seems to have been both a doctrine of nature and of men's fates." In his young adulthood, when he was often troubled but also reaching for the confidence to let go of waiting on results, he even enlisted the Hindu concept of *maya*, or illusions of the physical world, to characterize the source of one of his more intense moments of personal crisis.[72] This Eastern spiritual path likewise took attention away from feeling anxious about results; by following one's own destiny (or karma), results would flow without direct effort toward their realization.

Although modern progressive thought has often dismissed ancient "nature-lore" as primitive thinking, James as a young man already detected within it "the germ of the philosophy, science & religion of later times," emerging in the ancient world still "conglomerated," without modern disciplinary boundaries, and therefore with enduring clues about their relation. He was persuaded that mainstream religions, along with other products of the human mind and heart, "can be traced & referred to some part of a trunk . . . whence they had branched off." The harmonies that James found in the ancients likewise pointed to the ongoing undivided relation of science and religion and kindred domains of human activity. In recent times, however, these dimensions of life have separated, he observed, into "two branches . . . so differentiated as to be antagonistic"—namely religious and humanistic concern with "the destiny of the individual" separated from scientific inquiry into "the constitution of the world." Showing his own version of C. P. Snow's later lament about the sharp separation of these "two cultures," James added that the ancients showed that "they are not really so" separate after all, because they are "both sprouts of one stem." Despite their common history and their common display of cosmic curiosity, modern differentiation of science and religion often make renewed realization that "one womb bore them" seem "vain."[73] Living at a time when science and religion often appeared in conflict, and when many sought to compromise their assumed

tension, the mingling of material and immaterial dimensions of life in ancient times encouraged James's impulses to see these fields in relation before even any need to search for compromises. Ancient lessons reinforced his attitude of deference rather than adoption for religion, but also for science; he simultaneously respected traditional religion and endorsed modern science, while also critiquing claims to certainty about either one. For young James, the ancients were a glowing lure depicting a way to achieve more harmony during the confusions of earthly existence, including his own. In his maturity, even when he did not mention Greek art, Roman Stoicism, or Vedic religion, he was continually drawn to the circulation of spiritual messages within the world.

James's fascination with ancient thought and culture was part of widespread nineteenth-century attention to history as a way to understand the identity of contemporary parts of life. This historical imagination manifested itself not only through interest in the origin of diverse species but also in study of primal forms of human languages, races, and cultures in ancient times. By the middle of the century, within the cauldron of tension about racial difference and antebellum sectional antagonisms, many Americans used those insights about identity through origin to develop virulent theories of racial hierarchy, with Anglo-Saxons as the descendants of superior ancient Aryan and Germanic people. In asserting this ancient golden age, these theories provided American whites (not all of whom were even Anglo-Saxon) with a lineage of superiority. The wistful depictions of elegant Tanagra figures show that ancient Greece was often incorporated into these hierarchies of historical descent. As James had exhibited in Brazil, by contrast with his own teacher Louis Agassiz, these hierarchical racial views held no attraction for him. When friends and colleagues made use of these ideas to promote racial supremacy, with primitive "Aryans standing highest in the scale," he pointedly referred to the "aryan philosophy" in the lower case, demoting its privileged place, and insisted that the point of his inquiries was not to assert superiority or even differentiation but to find commonalities in sources among different competing "morals[,] politics [and] religion."[74]

James's awareness of history also served as a basis for still more of his philosophizing. In the mid-1870s, he observed that, according to conventional wisdom, "the meaning of an idea is that which it has grown from." After becoming impatient with the countless claims to certainty that this

identification with origins encourages, he proposed that "the truth of a thing or idea is . . . its destiny, that which grow out of it." But immersion in the ancients and reading Max Müller's works and more in the history of religion brought awareness that "the modern historical method of research" can reinforce "skepticism," with belief in "the relativity of all truth of opinion to its time." He took this as a philosophical and cultural challenge: "[U]nless we find a way of conciliating the notion of truth and change, we must admit that there is no truth anywhere." By the end of his youth, he was finding "conciliation" not in the origins of ideas, but in their future orientation, their "line of development." Well before his pragmatist declarations about reality "in the making" and his pluralist attention to novelty, he was already identifying truth according to an idea's "function of continuing thought in a certain *direction*." His recent, hard-won readiness to accept life "without any guarantee" would support and reinforce this future-oriented philosophical outlook.[75]

James's historical reflections and encounters with the ancients placed many of his quandaries about his beliefs and commitments into sharper focus. What had begun as informal recreation, with personal reading, museum visits, and theatergoing, became an enthralling drama at the center of keen vocational and personal choices. The naturalistic science that he had been studying began to bother him by the middle of the 1860s because it dealt with nature largely "robbed of divinity," in the potent phrase of Schiller, whose essays James read avidly during his scientific education. Meanwhile, throughout the Western world, he was surrounded by the social and economic changes of industrialism and the professional overturning of ecclesiastical privilege; he was aware of these tradition-challenging and antireligious trends, which supported the narrative of scientific hostility to religion, but he continued to regard religious belief as a source of human guidance alongside science—just as each also had its own shortcomings. Despite these tensions between science and religion in James's time and ever since, revisionist scholarship has shown that the conventional wisdom and the persistently popular view of conflict between science and religion is at best a simplification: many scientists have been religious believers, many religious believers have not been antiscientific, and many religious beliefs have influenced science; and even when conflicts have emerged, there have been vigorous efforts to reconcile the separate spheres. However, a counterrevisionism emphasizes that even in the midst of these interactions

of science and religion, the practice of science, especially since the late nineteenth century, has evolved toward naturalistic assumptions, making religious beliefs irrelevant to the work of science, even if not necessarily antagonistic. In the modern scientific perspective, and even with tacit endorsement from many religious believers, the natural world is simply material stuff for scientists to study and manage, or for the divine to create and control directly (for orthodox religious believers) or indirectly (for the more liberal). Traditional Western religions maintain that the transcendental world is the supernatural domain of God and immortality, with kinship to immaterial ideals in general; however, for science, the immaterial world is vocationally irrelevant, a set of human experiences for material analysis, or just a fantasy, although it may be part of personal beliefs and even serve to shape scientific ideologies.[76] Mainstream science and religion, so often assumed to be in contrast, generally share the view that nature is inert: chemical and physical matter to be understood, predicted, and controlled, or mortal finitude that pales before the majesty of transcendent or ideal realms.

From his young adulthood, and with the support of his thought about the ancients, James grew impatient with these modern assumptions about science and religion. He endorsed the scientists and religious believers who were ready to dialogue about their respective commitments. In addition, however, James emphasized that modern materialistic science and traditional Western religion are not in glaring contrast, with consequent need for "laboriously attained" reconciliation—to apply his description of predominant views since ancient times. Instead, he observed what came naturally to the ancients, and he experimented with ways to reduce the prevalent modern dualistic divide between nature and the transcendent. The ancients started with nature around them and found immaterial ingredients embodied in it. Like the ancients, James also took up the study of nature in his own time, namely, scientific inquiry; perhaps circulating within the complexities of earth, life, and consciousness, he surmised, we can find some deep meanings to the human experience and, like the Stoics, use our inquiries for personal direction. Identification of depths of meaning would begin with his proposition that Western science and religion are kindred cosmic quests. The widespread dualism, depicting their conflict, separation, or contrast with need for reconciliation, has reflected the way modern sciences and religions each presents a special case shaped by cultural formations; each has indeed developed with dramatically different intellectual affiliations and

social roles, and each has also evolved into specialized spheres for shedding light into various parts of natural experience. But, in addition, each also offers alternative human attempts to answer the puzzlements of that experience—each indeed "a syllable in human nature's total message."[77]

After James found panentheist ideas about spiritual factors circulating in the natural world in the outlooks of the ancients, his ideas about the subliminal "more" would fill out those youthful impulses, as would his views of the possible finitude of the divine as a participant in the universe rather than only its distant ruler. James also detected the tacit place of immaterial ingredients within scientific thinking, observing that positivism and scientific psychology, despite their materialist stance, "always present . . . reality . . . under two 'aspects,' . . . consciousness and . . . matter." Just as he emphasized the kinship of science and religion, so he also thought beyond dualist divisions of mind and body, turning instead to panpsychic ideas of their relationship. He avoided both defiance and defense of persistent contrasts between science and religion, or between body and mind. With pragmatist thinking, he emphasized the respective usefulness of these ardent positions for emphasizing material or immaterial dimensions of life as platforms for deeper learning, clues to the larger mysterious whole. His outlook left him comfortable circulating with liberal religious believers, who, as historian Amy Kittelstrom explains, also offered extensions of Christianity's theologies of divine imminence into outlooks for "heeding inner divinity," with mediation of science and religion, and even endorsement of spirituality operating within humanity and the world. And he anticipated challenges to dualism in philosophy and psychology that would emerge more forcefully in the twentieth century.[78]

Historian James Kloppenberg observes that James was in the vanguard of a generation of European and American philosophers, coalescing by the 1890s, who "substituted an acceptance of contingency for the standard quest for certainty" through denial of dualism and the grounding of truth in human experience. Philosopher John Dewey, whose reading of James helped turn him toward pragmatism, admired his senior colleague's pioneering stance: in the 1870s, Dewey observed, James "stood practically alone" critiquing the confidence of both "materialistic and idealist sides." In 1925 Dewey would express the nondualist commitment of the mature James's radical empiricism with words that sound like phrasing from the young James's commentary on modern "laboriously attained simplicity" in contrast with Greek harmony: Dewey disparaged dualism for its "assumptions

which first make a division where none exists, and then resort to an artifice to restore the connection which has been willfully destroyed." James's path to the "via media," as Kloppenberg identifies widespread attempts at "an unsteady intellectual peace [between] religion and science," involved both positivism and humanism, since he used both experimental naturalism and introspection on the mysteries of depth consciousness. James attended to these conventionally incongruous combinations at first with ambivalence, and in his youth he gradually developed his more decisive stance; in his maturity, he developed theories not just in compromise of science and religion, and of body and mind, but from perceiving their interaction.[79]

The panpsychic tendencies in James's nondualist understanding of the relation between material and immaterial realms have fostered misunderstanding and even ridicule. With his focus on social thought, including pragmatist James's contributions to deliberative democracy, Kloppenberg treats panpsychism as a slur by "James's critics" about the "supposed ability of minds to commune with other minds." Despite his own nondualist sympathies, Richard Rorty characterized James's nondualism as an illegitimate panpsychic attempt to close the "gap between subject and object." Rorty based his own pragmatism on the side of Dewey that was "naturalist without being . . . panpsychist," and he criticized James for wandering "down the garden path" from Darwinian observations of continuity of human and nonhuman animals to impulses presenting experiences of a noncognitive sort as factors in thinking. James did, indeed, make just this turn, even as Rorty adapted pragmatism to the linguistic turn, with pragmatism tied to language rather than to experience; and Rorty set his pragmatism especially in contrast with James's radical empiricism, which portrays pure experience as a seamless blend of objective and subjective elements. The garden path that Rorty found distasteful had its origins in James's youth—and it may have begun as a jungle path, in his encounters with the spider monkey in the Amazon. James found a way to be pragmatist by making use of a nonmaterialist approach to science, a spiritualist hope for religion, and the nondualism of pure experience; and James's path presents a challenge to pragmatism and other philosophies to attend to complex and mysterious parts of natural experience. Despite critiques of James, even among pragmatists, recent intellectual developments have supported nondualist insights, with students of both science and religion showing the abundant relations of these fields, continuities of humanity with other living things,

and philosophers and psychologists pointing to the embedding of mind in bodily processes.[80]

While James's mature work participated in these trends away from dualism, it also fulfilled his youthful impulse to show deference to traditional religion even without adoption of these beliefs; this was a major source of Rorty's impatience with James's nondualism since Rorty had almost no interest in religious beliefs and other such human sentiments that often surpass human linguistic expression. James was unusual among liberals and among intellectuals in general with the depth of his willingness to take seriously the nonintellectual convictions of passionate religious beliefs because of the added resources they provide for comprehending life's mysteries. In one of his first philosophical works, James evaluated the disagreements between religion and science and related ideological and values contrasts; he called each a distinct "sentiment of rationality," each "but one of a thousand human purposes," each with distinct assumptions, and each setting direction for particular philosophical orientations, but by no means all particularly intellectual. Each position, expressed with unarticulated conviction or with thorough sophistication, James maintained, begins with a sentiment of rationality giving primal orientation to the commitment. He was not just tolerating religious belief but also showing the role for its kind of thinking within intellectual life in general—just as he had already declared in 1862: "None succeed in leaving Faith entirely out."[81] Ironically, James's science with its goal for inquiry into the abundance of experience served as a major factor fostering his sympathy with nonintellectual beliefs, just as it was his religious taste for mystery that contributed to his impatience with scientific claims to certainty.

Due to the cosmic orientation that the ancients and his father fostered in James, and his mingling of other material and immaterial realms, he did not abandon either pole of his education in science and religion. While his philosophizing would take him beneath and beyond each, he worked with both science and religion throughout his career, finding their methods and insights useful. This explains how he construed his pragmatism as a "method only," an application of scientific method to speculative inquiry, with openness to natural facts, readiness to verify hypotheses on the basis of genuine experiences and their consequences, and the search for explanatory relations of disparate data; he would also apply those methods to religion. In his "science of religions," he gathered personal information about

religious experiences, including his own, as the empirical data of inquiry. He insisted that his thorough study of religious experience would be "*my* religious act"; he was dedicated to understanding the role of religion in the life of mankind, by enlisting both scientific inquisitiveness and sympathy with flights of religious abandon, even when he encountered elements of science and religion he disagreed with.[82]

Nondualist evaluation of religion in terms of psychological depths opened the possibility for James to regard such passionate personal commitment as religious in character, even though not connected to a traditional religion. As historian James Turner points out, James's attention to noninstitutionalized convictions "redrew the map" of the emerging field of religious studies and promoted public appreciation of religion through personal rather than only through institutional experiences. Historian of religion Catherine Albanese uses the terms "spirituality" and "nature religion" to describe this sensibility, with the relation of religious impulse to nature ranging from a sense of "mystical spirituality" within nature itself to views of the "material world as conduit . . . of spiritual power" from beyond nature. In other words, the spiritual impulse appears on a spectrum from worldly spirituality without transcendence in defiance of Western religion to natural experiences serving as vehicles for bringing the transcendent to humanity within religious traditions. These trends toward spirituality since James's time have continued to thrive both outside and within churches, with focus on psychological depths and openness to science, even as contrasting forms of religion have also grown, including traditionalist commitments, which James acknowledged with curiosity and sympathy. In its treatment of worldly life in religious terms, spirituality has both challenged traditional religion and offered an expansion of religion into wider spheres of life. This is much as James anticipated in his youthful explorations and in his mature explanations about the mysteries of religion deep within human nature.[83] As a founding figure both of this spiritual trend and of scientific psychology, and as a student of beliefs even when not adopting them, James has offered the persistent reminder that any human claim, religious or antireligious, scientific or philosophical, must itself remain humble.

When William James was twenty-seven, ancient wisdom served as a beacon through his puzzlements about the relation of science and religion, and the material and immaterial makeup of human nature and the natural

world. Stoicism portrayed reason pervading the world, with the human share of that power animating every person with awareness, will, and the capacity to think. In 1869 James contrasted this with the dualist views that "we are all nature *but* [with] some point which is reason" that he detected in the divorce of religious meanings from the material world and in the psychophysical separation of mind and body of his scientific studies. Life and consciousness, much less any religious beliefs, according to this view, operate parallel to our material nature to be ignored because they are beyond scientific comprehension or to be reduced to those material forces. These outlooks suggested for James a stark choice between reliance on transcendent absolutes or meaningless despair, still the menu of options for many since his time. Religious apologetics in support of traditional absolutes constitute "defensive tactics," but these will "never do anything," he sharply warned, but "fight . . . a steady retreat before materialism." Instead, he wanted to believe, as did the Stoics, that "we are en rapport with reason, . . . that all is Nature *and* all is reason too," with nature and reason in relation, as he blurted out hopefully in 1869 even during a season when he was finishing his medical degree, feeling unclear about his vocational direction, and sliding into discouragement.[84] Nature and reason hooped together would enable both his respectful views of religious beliefs and his commitment to scientific study—and create opportunities for still more relations of material and immaterial dimensions of life.

In the late 1860s and for the next few years, those compelling ideas often felt out of reach. The synthetic understanding of nature and reason among the ancients, and a similar relation of science and religion in his own world, could address his uncertainties and ambivalence—in theory. And, indeed, freedom from determination by material circumstances and avoidance of absolute and fixed answers would eventually support and even strengthen his will, promoting his search for meaning and purposeful work in the world. However, when he was still immersed in science and searching for professional and personal direction, he was stalked by the proposition that perhaps we are only "all Nature . . . through and through"—all material nature, that is. This view amplified his troubles because it would reduce the will and other sparks of human life and mind to material mechanism or present them as the worldly objects of religious impatience while waiting for another and better world. With such views of nature as presented by mainstream science and religion, even the inspirations of the ancients could

not keep William James from the tormenting lack of motivation that was making him feel more passive, more indecisive, and more unhealthy in body and spirit as he reached the end of his formal scientific education and sought his path of work in the world. But even as he spiraled down, he kept searching for ways out of his dilemmas: "We shall see, damn it," he declared in March 1869 when studying for his medical examinations, "we shall see."[85]

Crises and Construction

> For the past week, to be sure I have been laid up, . . . but I have come to regard that as a periodical neccessity [*sic*]. . . . I think I at last see a certain order in the state I'm in.
>
> William James, 1870

On the 9th of July 1868, William James declared that he was in "crisis." After more than a year in Europe learning the German language and physiological psychology, he had traveled to Heidelberg hoping to hear lectures by Herman von Helmholtz, whose researches on nerve impulses and sensory perception James hoped to study for deepening his understanding of physiological psychology. But the "scientific genius" he hoped to meet was not lecturing that season; he had planned poorly, and he was frustrated. James was so disappointed with his "fiasco" that he "fled . . . under the influence of a blue despair" because Heidelberg now reminded him of the work he was not yet accomplishing. This was not his first crisis, and it wouldn't be his last. Four years before, at age twenty-two and about to begin classes at Harvard Medical School in the fall of 1864, he shocked himself with the intensity of his first major feeling of "desolation." In the next few years, a convergence of his health problems, his tendencies to ambivalence about the Civil War, his social relations with family and friends, his vocational uncertainties, and even bleak winter weather plunged him into repeated crises. For example, he reported a "slough of despond" when aboard the steamer Colorado *destined for Brazil in April 1865; "a sort of crisis" in 1868 on listening to music performed so well that it generated "horror" about his own "waste[d] life"; and a feeling that he had "about touched bottom" in 1870 triggered by a simultaneous sore back and a sinking realization that materially determined choices would undercut moral effort, starting with his own philanthropic goals. His falls into despair were so bleak that suicide sometimes seemed his only recourse. His troubles were so frequent that his "condish" became almost routine as he persistently kept trying for improvement*

and searching for reasons to keep motivated.[1] *Moreover, he found constructive possibilities in the heart of the crises themselves. They trained his fighting spirit for willful effort; they even seemed to be necessary stages toward improvement and growth, as the sectarian health-care providers argued; and he noticed that wisdom might emerge from struggling with his troubles.*

James did not have one single moment of crisis from depression and indecision all at once and then become done with them. His first letters and notebooks give early hints of his dilemmas in choosing among various vocations and philosophies of life, and he was nagged by persistent health problems and frustration from living at home while remaining remote from marriage. All these factors conspired to make the years when he was in his twenties, from 1862 to 1873, a period punctuated by many bouts of utter discouragement. The latter half decade after 1868 was particularly severe, especially because of the compounding effect of old problems still unresolved and grown more severe. Throughout these years, James himself used the term crisis *and related words many times. He was burdened with a set of vexing interwoven dilemmas throughout his young adulthood—in effect, a series of crises that blended into the fabric of his whole development.*[2]

Although young James's immediate prospects seemed bleak, his determination for improvement made this a seedtime for future development. His father supported the theological view of the "fortunate fall," with benefits that bloom in times of trouble. Young James coined his own slang words, "the winding up crisis," to describe the expectation among medical sectarians that healing would come after some worsening symptoms. James's young adulthood, with its varied crises, was a time of both depression and development, indecision and initial attempts to enlist the will, uncertainty of vocational choice and increased readiness to accept life without guarantees. His troubles and constructive responses were in domains of life at once physical and mental, social and intellectual—with these intermingled material and immaterial domains echoing the intersection of scientific and religious factors that he was learning from his family, from his wide reading of works ancient and modern, and from his circles of teachers and peers. Even his often-lamented reduced time for reading because of physical and psychological troubles did not bring a dramatic reduction in learning; in fact, the reduced quantity at any one time amplified his intensity. As he said with hope in 1874, when he was still on the healing cusp of his worst period, "If [a person] is reduced from any cause, say, bad eyesight, to one hour of daily study instead of six, he nevertheless learns much more than one sixth of his former allowance." This explanation from young physiologist

James about stages of learning for readers of the Atlantic Monthly *would also include strategies for coping with problems: "What is taken in during the one hour settles distinctly and thoroughly into the mind during the following twenty-three hours."*[3] *The troubles themselves prompted deeper stirrings.*

The lure of the ancients suggested to William James some ways to use his education, but where would that education lead—what particular intellectual stances, what line of work, and what fate for his personal life, his physical and mental health, and even prospects for marriage? He hoped his eighteen months in Europe from 1867 to 1868 would bring him out of his vocational and intellectual doldrums. Europe, however, was not the panacea that James hoped it would be. The baths did not cure him, and exposure to German science did not deliver him from his uncertainties—and neither could save him from a depression so deep it paralyzed his will to work and occasionally even his will to live. He returned from Germany at age twenty-six with good command of the German language but with little fluency in his own art of living. His intersecting and confusing burdens kept him in the same unsettled state until at least 1873. Through it all, he kept a constant drive to heal his mental and physical health, solve his dilemmas, and gain some personal and intellectual direction, especially through his ravenous appetite for learning.

James's relentless curiosity, abundant reading, and intellectual reflections gave him a capacity to reach outside of his own discouragements. When depressed, he did not become inert, but searching; as he said to his brother Henry even in 1870, being "idle" would for him be "no easy work as you know." His long book lists display his intellectual ambitions. In addition to his scientific texts, he set out to read not only Homer and Marcus Aurelius but also portions of Cicero, Tacitus, and St. Augustine; Voltaire, Auguste Comte, and Ernest Renan; works on ancient religion and modern Buddhism, including Émile-Louis Burnouf's *La Science des Religions*, Étienne Vacherot's *La Religion*, Henry Alabaster and Chao Phya Thipakon's *The Modern Buddhist*, and Karl Friedrich's *Die Religion des Buddha*; Immanuel Kant and Charles Renouvier; Hippolyte Taine and George Sand; Herbert Spencer and John Tyndall; Oliver Wendell Holmes, Senior, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Margaret Fuller Ossoli; Benjamin Franklin and Captain John Smith; Horace Bushnell and John Fiske; Thomas De Quincey and Thomas Carlyle; E. B. Tylor and John Henry Newman; Emanuel Swedenborg and his own father. In the late 1860s to early 1870s, the very years of his worst

discouragement, he turned to these works for "the relaxation of the mind [away] from that high-strung attitude of vigilance . . . and suspended judgment . . . [of the scientific] investigator." Anticipating his impatience with such scientific caution when faced with genuine and ambiguous options in "The Will to Believe," young James already found that this avocational interest, like any one of his water-cure visits, also "reinvigorates and disposes for future exertions."[4]

Through crises and constructions, James learned to manage his need for both effort and rest, with reading for work and for enjoyment. The full fruits of both kinds of learning would not come all at once, as he alternated between bleak feelings and genuine vigor. The whole process took a painfully long time; his own pace of maturation provided a personal version of the significance of long-term thinking that he had been learning from his friend Charles Peirce. The delays in James's coming of age suggest a long gestation period in the development of his talents, as psychologist David Galenson observes about "late bloomers" who search, experiment, and despair many times on their path to achievement.[5] A biographical perspective on James's theories suggests that these were postponements with a purpose, even if he could not detect the purpose at the time—paraphrasing his later thinking, these purposes were still in the making.

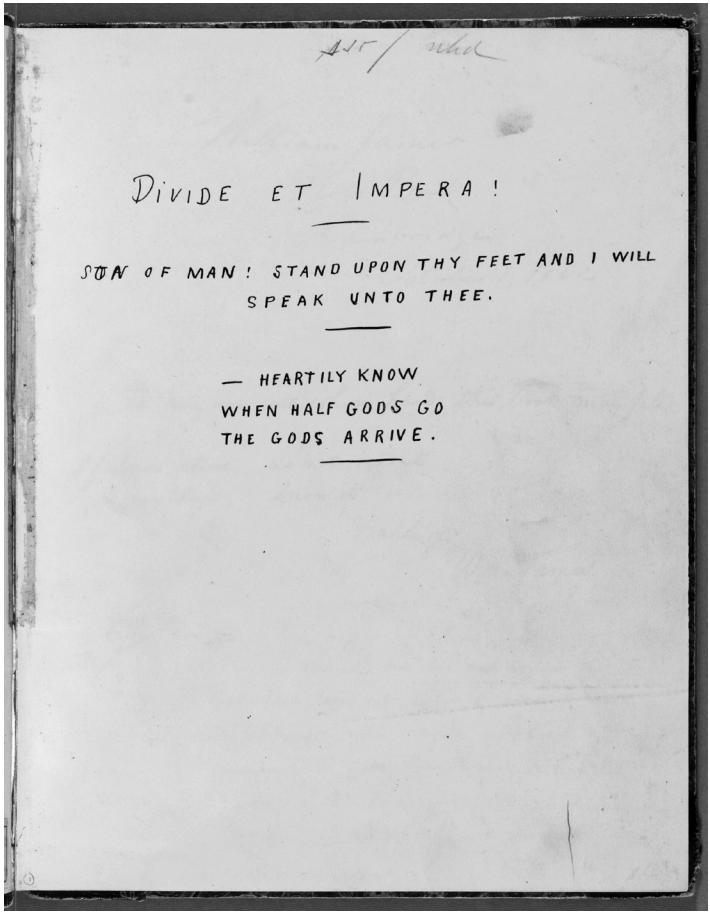
The Burden of Choosing Direction

A general account of James's childhood would give little indication of the impending dark moods of his young adulthood. As the oldest child, bright and often very funny, William was wholly confident. This frequently manifested in what his own son called "an intimate raillery" with his "fun and extravagant" comments on friends and family. Once when he was "composing odes to all the family," his sister Alice said in jest that "he is fit to go to the lunatic asylum." This intensity, along with tendencies to ask large questions, would loom more significant after childhood. At age fifteen, he already started to brood about his future profession. His first "taste" was to "pursue some scientific occupation," and his family encouraged this impulse not just with a microscope for a Christmas present but also with science classes at the various schools of his childhood. However, in the next few years, he grew more and more "torment[ed]" by the "choice of a profession." He took a particular interest in a quotation from Jean-Jacques Rousseau that he saw posted at his school in Boulogne, France, in 1858: "Life is gone in an instant. In itself it is nothing. Its value depends upon the use to

which you put it." He could not yet imagine the pragmatic suggestions in these ideas, but he surely would have already noticed the expression of his father's philanthropy with its Swedenborg-inspired commitment to social use. By 1858, he was already feeling fretful, "for all time spent working in the wrong direction is lost," and this was even before the decade and a half he would take to find his direction. In the spirit of mid-nineteenth-century American defiance of authority, as amplified by his father's independent spirit and insistence on philanthropic work, young James was skeptical of institutions in his eagerness to serve mankind for making the world a better place. This impulse would also extend into his young adulthood, into his eagerness to support useful applications of his science and philosophy, and into the reform sympathies of his mature life as a public intellectual.[6] His youthful search for meaningful work was intensified, and postponed, by his search for philanthropic purpose. So his education involved a search for ideas with theoretical and therapeutic appeal; but before he could help others, he needed to find his own direction.

Worry over career choice was compounded by hints of melancholy as early as 1859. James's notebook of that year contained aphorisms, personal sayings, and general observations, which also displayed his interest in romanticism and the ancients. One example is full of black humor: "Earth = host who murders his guests," a translation of the medieval Persian poet Divan of Hafiz that he had likely learned from Ralph Waldo Emerson. In his notebook of 1862, after pages of intellectual wrestling and vocational indecision, James made this arrestingly simple statement: "Life itself is what is most valuable in life." This suggestion about living vitality, which he was encountering in the homeopathic vital force and the conatus of Swedenborgians such as his father (and taken up in the twenty-first century by Antonio Damasio) provided a hint of his emerging concept that materialistic views of biology and psychology, which emphasize reductionist physical and chemical explanations, would not be sufficient. Despite the vigor of this comment, the next page of the notebook included this blunt comment, "Suicide morally & really considered."[7] He did not specify whether this was a comment on himself or not; nevertheless, it indicates that he was aware of this darker side of life even as he affirmed the importance of vitality in general.

James kept writing in that same mood later in 1862, when he began a notebook of reading notes and deep thoughts with these bold, religiously inflected words:



Intoning the Bible—and a Ralph Waldo Emerson Poem.

[Notebook 3], October 1, 1862, William James papers, bMS Am 1092.9 (4497). p. [1]. Courtesy of Bay James and the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

In some of his earliest preserved writing, James quoted from the Bible and Emerson's poem "Give All To Love," and these words served as a well that he repeatedly tapped for his later work. He emphasized "stand upon thy feet" again in 1882 to support "the impulse to take life strivingly" (WB 74); in 1878, he called Herbert Spencer a "half-god," adept at popularizing science, but with materialist views only halfway toward comprehending the complexities of nature (EPH 7); and in 1902, he urged letting go of "our previous pretensions" to encourage openness to "larger ranges of truth. . . . 'Heartily know, when half-gods go, the gods arrive'" (VRE 267).

SON OF MAN! STAND UPON THY FEET AND I WILL
SPEAK UNTO THEE

The all-caps screaming on a notebook page otherwise mostly blank suggests a potent intent. The Bible uses the phrase "son of man" many times, especially in the book of Ezekiel, where it appears more than ninety times, and in the New Testament, more than eighty. Ezekiel displays confidence in his mere humanity before serving as a messenger from the divine. The prophet then challenges the "rebellious people" of Israel, so "impudent . . . and stiffhearted," and pledges to serve as a "watchman" preaching for a reversal of wicked ways. In the New Testament, Jesus's use of this phrase to describe himself suggests the elemental power even in someone of low worldly status, even if persecuted to death. For the New Testament evangelists, the "son of man" points to the Messiah's incarnation with divine immanence within human flesh, and to the hopes for his triumph over death and return as judge: "Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power."[8] The biblical references in a private notebook suggest that James is referring to himself, awaiting a commission to high purpose, with a hope that bleak times could lead to later achievements; even when weak or beleaguered, he must find strength, but who is issuing the commission?

After the thunderous command about the son of man, James went on to declare brashly,

HEARTILY KNOW
WHEN THE HALF GODS GO
THE GODS ARRIVE.

These words, again inspired by Emerson, suggest a posture of sorting through religious claims. In his poem, "Give All to Love," Emerson urges readers to "Obey thy heart," which "'tis a god" and "Knows its own path," before offering condolences when a love is lost: "Tho' her parting dims the day," hope endures, but only through "Stealing grace from all alive." James's forlornly uncoupled state and his eagerness to find ways to manage his troubles would have made him receptive to such hopeful words, especially when delivered with ideas akin to his search for finite absolutes as reinforced both in Friedrich Schiller's tribute to grace and in Emerson's unchurched spirituality of the god within and grace in all alive. The poem then concludes with the irreverent intonation that James quotes in full. The

young scientist turned the poetic reference into a banner declaration of his goals: he was setting out on a path of reflective searching, which would soon become disruptive and troubling, but these would be first steps toward more reliable guides to life.[9]

James mingled his spiritual searching with his scientific education, even literally, in the notebook itself; after those earnest declarations on the first pages, he recorded threads of his scientific learning, with a discussion of the "correlation of forces . . . light, magnetism, etc." In the dismissal of partial answers suggested by the metaphor of the half-gods' departure, science would be part of that winnowing process. Since mainstream religion and science are so often presented in contrast with each other, their assumed conflict would lead to distraction from understanding the world—or, as he stated forcefully, "Divide et Impera!" (Divide and Conquer).[10] When assuming the division of religion and science in separation or conflict, much is lost; because each has limits, each "half-god" is able to persuade only according to its own domain. With his scientific education, religious interests, and wide reading, he was aggressively looking for the arrival of his own "gods," his own authoritative guide, his own orienting commitment; to begin with, and less grandly, he was looking for his own vocational purpose.

James made use of his notebook declarations a few years later when raising doubt about excessive confidence in science, in particular in his essay about "[Herbert] Spencer's Definition of Mind" (1878); on the very first page of the essay, he flatly called the prominent enthusiast for science a "half-god," gaining fame by promoting zeal for science but choking off its full significance with his reductionist thinking. Just a few years later, he enlisted his notebook biblical phrase, now no longer just for private discovery of his own purpose, but in application to general human effort: "Son of Man, *stand upon thy feet*." The essays surrounding these phrases were composed just as he was graduating from years of youthful yearning, and they put words on his struggles and preliminary youthful resolutions. Like Emerson, he called for the summoning of inner resources, namely "my powers, such as they are"; when enlisting this impulse, despite any trouble, "I can be a match for it if I will." Volition, in the spirit of the Stoic inner citadel, could direct energy toward finding a worldly mission. Although the worldly focus was unorthodox, it carried a biblical sanction, with the indirect presence of Ezekiel and Jesus no less; and these orthodox icons also readily acknowledged the potential for powerful messages emerging from lowly sources or beleaguered circumstances. Yet his impulse to "take life strivingly" with a "moral

creed" would not involve turning to the higher powers promoted by idealism and traditional religion, and his posture also avoided resignation to the fatalist lack of purpose suggested by scientific materialism. Such power to struggle had often seemed beyond his reach in his youth, until he could find a "rule for his will." Then, his efforts to "stand upon [his] feet" would involve both a "tonic destruction" of traditional religion, as historian David Hollinger says of efforts to discover authentic spiritual messages in the midst of avid critiques of religion, and a similar tonic destruction of scientific materialism that would allow richer scientific insights to flourish.[11] His program for future science would be his contribution to these hopes for revision in science; and young James's repeated use of these biblical-style phrases cast a religious glow over his decade of choosing direction, but not in mainstream forms. He would be his own commissioner.

These weighty thoughts lurked beneath James's daily fare. During the period when he was writing these notebook entries, he tacitly followed his father's dictum not to specialize too soon with his study of art and then an array of sciences, while also reading widely in religion, philosophy, and mental science. During these first years of scientific study, he showed little sign of poor physical health, but he had worries for his psychological health. In 1863, reading psychiatrist Forbes Winslow's descriptions of the onset of insanity caught him up short since he recognized the doctor's assessment of its warning signs in his difficulty maintaining attention and tendency toward reflective speculation. These general worries about warning signs turned very specific the next year when he suffered mild depression just before starting in medical school in the fall of 1864, and it took the form of "a feeling of desolation so dire that I have never had any experience at all approaching it"—evidently, this was a new feeling, his first expression of crisis in all but name. Perhaps he was reacting to the prospect of a vocational commitment to medicine following his father's objections to focusing too soon. He was writing to his cousin, Katherine Temple, whose brother had been killed in the war, so part of the reason for this strong feeling might have been that "I felt at one blow all my bereavement"; or he could have been disturbed by his own ambivalence about the war. He found some ways to cope with his dark mood in "the symphonies of Beethoven . . . [and] drives through the mild and misty air in the afternoons when the sunshine seemed so golden." He joshed with Temple about their "young-lovyer-like deportment" with each other, but he ended the letter with a more serious reference to his psychological state: "I have something within, . . . and I

can't tell when it will quit." His reading of English poet William Blake provided an explanation: "It sticks in the heart[']s deep core, & it sticks in the deep back bone." He was pointing to the interweaving of his feelings and his physical symptoms: he had a problem of the heart, but also, quite literally as he would soon report, in his back. Blake's poem "The Smile" would serve as a resource for coping with his troubles in its poetic references to smiles and frowns: It is the "Frown of Frowns / Which you strive to forget in vain," but there is also the more cheerful "Smile of Smiles." Rather than expecting one to win out, Blake puts his hope in both because only in their mingling is there "an end to all Misery."[12] As with the Stoic philosophy, poetry provided James with clues for dealing with his troubles.

Surges of Speculative Interest While Pursuing Health and Physiological Study

In late winter of 1865, early in his second semester of full-time medical study, James had a bad cold. It wasn't very serious, but it was enough of a setback so that it "clogged my brain and prevented the workings of my usually active mind." Through these years, an active mind was his norm, and here was a symptom that coincided with the neurasthenic diagnosis. James was in effect acting like "a good barometer"; his "sensitiveness to changes in the weather" was part of the heightened sensitivity that was a defining feature of this diagnosis. Health, mood, mental acuity, and the settings around him continued to mingle as he reported that, with a "change in the weather, . . . my spirits have revived." While visiting Newport, he took a walk on the beach with his cousin Minny Temple. His elusive and spirited cousin "sped along in front of me, . . . and kept me so out of breath that I couldn't talk." She would continue to keep him spellbound and sometimes speechless right through her deep reflections on religion and Stoicism until her death in 1870.[13]

Later that spring of 1865, when James left for Brazil with the Agassiz expedition, he soon felt another bout of melancholy. It was triggered by the symbolism of being at sea over deep water and by his raw physiological response to the pitching waves. The immediate experience prompted his poetic description, "O the vile Sea! The damned Deep!," and it spurred him to reflect that "no one has a right to write about the 'nature of Evil' or to have any opinion about evil who has not been at sea." This was a reference to the abstractions of his idealistic father who had indeed written a book with that very name one decade before, but he did not here pursue this critical

line. Instead, he reported on his own despondency from seasickness for about a day; but then on recovering from that, emotionally, "for 12 mortal days, I was, body & soul, in a more indescribably hopeless homeless & friendless state than I ever want to be in again"; the dark mood was personal and subjective, but also social with an objective element: he missed his friends. Despite those feelings, he was moved by how "profound" and potentially "fruitful" the experience was; "I am sure some day of an accession of wisdom from it," he added showing awareness of dark times as resources for insights.[14]

Once in Brazil, doing the natural history work itself confirmed his long-term vocational leanings. In the last few months of 1865, he repeatedly announced bluntly, "I thoroughly hate collecting." But he was glad to have the challenge since it forced him to develop basic skills in "getting to be very practical, orderly & business like." Orderliness attracted, even for this impulsive young man, often as a respite from his impulses; and its lack would loom large in the crises of his next few years and form the core of the habits he would later describe in his psychology. After these vocational steps (or missteps), he craved getting "back to books." He gushed with enthusiasm for the intellectual culture of his family and circle of friends in Cambridge who "kill . . . themselves with thinking about things that have no connexion with their merely external circumstances." The contrast with the practical factual work of his fieldwork made him want to rejoin the fevered debates "about religion, philosophy, love & sich."[15]

After returning from Brazil in the spring of 1866, James did indeed resume his old haunts, reading widely, discussing big ideas about "the Kosmos and the human soul," and taking up the study of medicine again. While scientific study was his main vocation, these were also the years when he began to circulate intensively with the friends who would form the Metaphysical Club, especially Charles Sanders Peirce, Chauncey Wright, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior. He was also getting "settl[ed] down to reading" and concentrating on medicine. But he was wary about how much he could accomplish. He warned himself that "each man's constitution limits him to a certain amount of emotion and action." If he goes "under a higher pressure than normal for 3 months, . . . he will pay for it by passing the next 3 mos. below par"—a comment reflecting his experiences with water cure and in keeping with neurasthenic diagnoses advocating balanced effort and rest. With his limited fund of energy, he decided that he had better settle for "some *one* thing as thoroughly as it can be known." Weaning himself from his father's

advice for avoiding specialization, his specific vocational choice was physiology within medicine, but he frequently violated his resolution with more general studies.[16]

James responded to nervous exhaustion not only with therapies from scientific and sectarian medicine but also with conservation of his own energy by focusing his interests: for three years starting in 1866 his professional path was specialization in pursuit of a medical degree. He worked slowly through the interruptions of continued illness, the distractions of meeting friends and socializing, and his persistent readings outside of medicine. While "drudging gloomily on at the medical school," his particular interests in the anatomy and physiology of the nervous system led him to questions relating mind and body. While searching for strength and resolve, he was applying medical means to achieve his goal of physiological and psychological study. And in April 1867 he took his pursuit of health and physiological study to Germany.[17]

Before leaving for Europe, James's health had been worsening. In May 1866 his eyes bothered him, including "a very mild but most damnable attack" with "my right eye entirely closed." Because his eyes and then his back troubled him continually, the trip became as attractive for the healing baths to visit as for the study of science. Aboard ship in the Atlantic again, he fared better physically than he had when traveling to Brazil, but he did again feel his spirits slide into depression. Still, he said confidently, "I have no doubt that as soon as my foot treads solid earth my spirits will again soar." He made many visits to the water cures at Teplitz in Germany and also Divonne in France. During his time in Europe, he shuttled between effort and rest and worried that "I work off my improvement as fast as it accumulates": he was on a treadmill of illness emerging or deepening after a stretch of work, followed by recovery at the water cure, which allowed him to get back to work. Following the textbook descriptions of neurasthenic fatigue, and as he would continue to argue later about "The Energies of Men," he was like a battery constantly depleted and recharged—literally "feeling more or less alive on different days"; in the later essay, he described human energy with an analogy conveying the same message: "[A] wire at one time alive with electricity, may at another time be dead." In his youth he was at first just trying to achieve normal health, but his experience with energy and fatigue provided introspective evidence for his theory of "our unused reservoir of power." As he was reading in the Stoics and from other sources, and as he was discovering for himself, "the opener of deeper and

deeper levels of energy" was the will.[18] James's search for health in Europe had been a means to his scientific ends, a way to achieve enough health and strength to study physiology; but the elusiveness of his own well-being had made the cures ends in themselves. After his return to America in November of 1868, he was determined to get well "in the quiet of home" and by attempting to concentrate on his work. Once he had left Europe and put behind him the frustration of ups and downs in and out of water cures, he felt "as if all anxiety were removed from me." For the next year after his return from Europe, James worked deliberately on earning his medical degree, which he did in June 1869. He also had plenty of distractions.

Excited and Awkward about Women

Shortly after resuming his medical studies in the fall of 1868, he started to feel "so run down" from his work, but also, after his long absence, he was simply "run down with visits," meeting friends again, including several young women. Despite all the social activity, he developed no close relations with any particular woman—in this season or for the next few years—although he socialized and flirted with Temple and other women. Even when he had first arrived in Germany, at the age of twenty-five, his nagging health problems and the lack of romance in his life made him feel "rather precipitately old in the last year."[19] He remained a bachelor living with his family for the next decade. He looked for female companionship and remained hopeful about marriage, but he looked for years without success, and that only added to his melancholy.

The trip to Brazil in 1865 had brought the first stirrings of his romantic and erotic interests. The setting certainly promoted these feelings since the lush landscape and the "hospitality & the free, open, careless way of living here are very delicious." In addition, the "lovely Indian maidens" caught his eye as well. At one stop, when some natives hosted the visiting scientists, James felt both excited and awkward about the beautiful women around him. While Louis Agassiz treated the native Brazilians coldly as primitives within his search for racial hierarchy, young James could see their virtues and warmed to their beauty. Despite the allure of these women, however, there is no record of his learning any native languages, but he did learn some of the national language, keeping a list of useful words, including the Portuguese words for "woman," "servant girl," "sweetheart," and even the phrase "my dear will you marry me?"—the last showing his exaggeration: in this case, self-mockery of his single state. With one woman in particular,

despite linguistic shortcomings, "we talked, gesticulated, fraternized in short, & passed a very merry evening." With characteristic drama, he called "Jesuina, Jesuina, my forest queen, my tropic flower," but he was frustrated that "I could not make myself intelligible" to her. He concluded his description of his first major romantic encounter with a pretended boast: after the expedition had moved on, she now walks lonely, "with her long hair floating free, pining for my loss." After the Brazil trip, while socializing in Cambridge, he flippantly reported that he was "falling in love with every girl I met." He did not let himself savor the feelings, however, since after a month, he felt "a reaction" that made him want to "decline every invitation" in favor of concentrating on his medical studies.[20] This reaction related to women, and intensifying over the next few years, was both cause and effect of his bleak feelings, which descended on him more and more as he steeled himself into romantic isolation.

Shortly after James arrived in Dresden in the spring of 1867, while he was on his isolated quest to learn the language and read German science, he found relief from his "monotonous . . . life" in gazing out his apartment window to a "young ladies [*sic*] boarding school." Watching from a distance, he grew envious of a "young english lout" who attracted their attention when they were "wont to relax from their studies." After his more confident competitor left, he claimed, "I shall now monopolize the attention of the school." He got no closer, however, than gazing at them through a telescope; alas, he observed with self-justifying sour grapes, "not one was good looking." Then he detected a "ravishing apparition" in another nearby apartment. She was "about 18, hair like night, & such eyes!" And he added a little hope to leaven his self-pity about all his distant encounters, "their mute, appealing, love lorn look goes through & through me." Still displaying deep reflection without action, he never made it past the window, although he longingly imagined that she looked back, "communing with" him. He decided with mock exaggeration, however, that she would be right for him only if her nose were "an inch and a half shorter." The very next month, while at the theater in Dresden, a young woman sitting near him caught his eye. As with Jesuina in Brazil, he was not deterred by ethnic difference, with the woman in the theater appearing to be a "young jewess." James did engage in blunt ethnic stereotyping, but it was generally mixed with frank admiration for human differences, an expression of his "organ of perception-of-national-differences." In his private writing, he spoke bluntly in both directions; for example, his crude first reaction upon seeing large numbers of Jews in Berlin was that

they were "unnatural and revolting," but he also said that they have a "decisive character" that is "extremely refreshing after "the somewhat vulgar platitude of the Christian Germanic type." After the show in Dresden, he saw the Jewish woman, but "she took no notice of me." His extreme conclusion to this brief incident reflected both his generally bleak spirits and his frustration about romance: "I came near shooting myself that night."[21] He often exaggerated, but his deadpan joking went here to a new level of jarring intensity.

Sometimes James's attraction to women mingled with his philosophical questions. In a reflective letter to Wendell Holmes written while still in Germany, he mentioned "a young lady fm. New York," Catherine Havens, who would continue to attract his attention for years. His letter was not just a report to a chum about a good-looking girl, because he was particularly impressed with "her way of accepting the world." Her demeanor reminded him of "an old long forgotten element" in himself—perhaps his admiration for the ability to accept the facts of the world without question or regret that he was detecting in the ancients and the German romantics. He delicately admitted to feelings toward her filled with "more vulgar elements," but to his perception, meeting her was less a physical attraction than "a beneficent discovery," and the "suddenness and quasi definiteness" of that realization "all most [*sic*] shatters one's empirical philosophy." With shades of Schiller's insights, empirical matters of fact were not enough when compared with the naïve attractions he saw embodied in this compelling woman's character—or when compared to other immaterial factors of life. His lusty side reemerged when thinking of her beautiful and graceful demeanor. Still more "vulgar" feelings—shaped by both sexual impulses and class assumptions—slipped out in his ready notice of two more women within his gaze, "a maiden, black jaketted, [and] red petticoated," and "an intrepid servant girl," but instead of doing anything about his impulses, he imagined their romantic discovery of him: "[H]ere, here! Beats that human heart for wh[ich]. . . . thy being vaguely longs." He could express his feelings deeply and romantically but not face to face with an actual, empirical woman. With his mingled shyness and longing, he asked his sister to find him "some handsome, spirited & romantic creature whom I can fall in love with in a desperate fashion. . . . Find her and bring her on."[22]

In May 1868 James did not have to contrive a way to meet Havens, since she was living in the same boardinghouse in Dresden. One of his attractions to her was that she too was "a prey to her nerves," but he added hopefully,

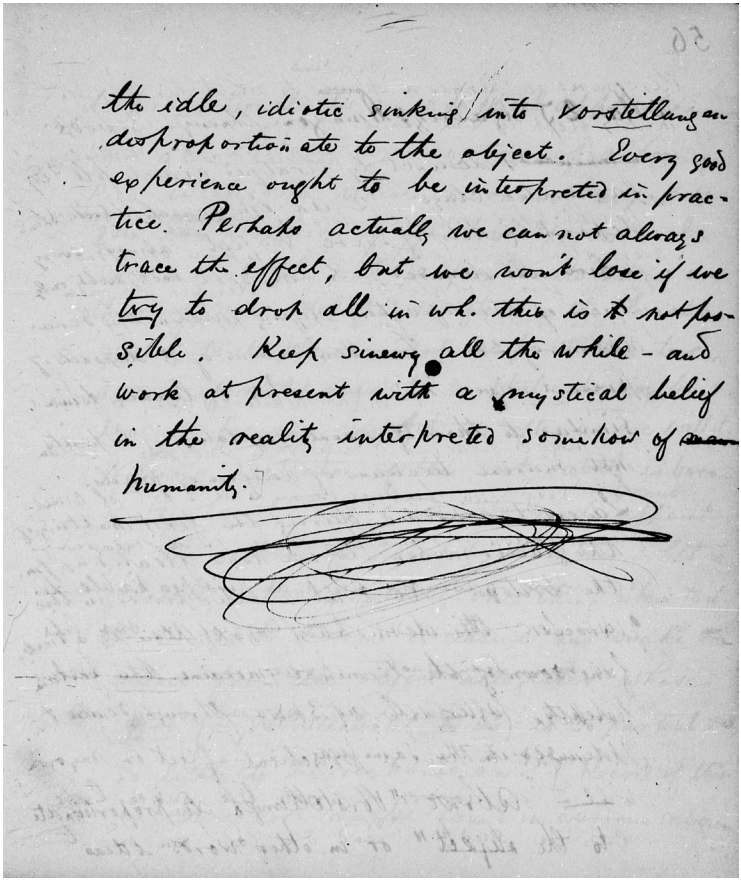
"her mind is perfectly free from sentimentality and disorder of any sort." She passed his Schiller test about the shortcomings of sentimental longings, and besides, an attraction to a fellow sufferer was safe: they could each withhold a full rush of emotion by focusing on their own issues, while he continued to reflect on possible action with all the irony of planning for impulsiveness . He was most impressed with her "genius for music"—"I never heard a piano speak as she makes it." Despite her allure, and even inspired by her playing, he still did not take any action; instead, he blurted out, "my feelings came to a sort of crisis"—his first use of the term. As with his other times of discouragement, this was a moment of both problems and insights, and especially their mixture in confusion; and as with sectarian health crises and Charles Peirce's theory of doubt as a stage toward belief, the very disorder provided a fertile setting for identification of problems and for choosing direction. At the moment, the crisis displayed his "disgust for the dead drifting of my own life for some time past," and he found its source in the weakness of "my own will" caused by too much Hamlet-like reflective thinking without action.[23]

James's troubled musings about Miss Havens veered even further into the kind of detailed reflections that swirled around his vocational and philosophical questions. When reveling in his romantic attraction, he made a vow to build up his will and his commitment to action, although it was still difficult to fulfill. He tried to persuade himself to encounter experience directly—the posture he admired in the ancients—and take practical action. As a first step in strengthening his will, he vowed to "trace the effect" of his choices, a tacitly pragmatic thought. While thinking about such consequences, he also harked back to his youthful, father-inspired philanthropic ideal: he sought to maintain "a mystical belief in the reality interpreted somehow of humanity." With this abstraction, his mind was striding away from his sexual attraction, but his reflections could also serve as an intellectual's way to build up the courage to make a romantic advance: romance, like naïve thinking and mystical belief, reached beyond everyday facts, and yet it was also embedded in tangible experience. He expressed his feelings in terms of the philosophical and personal questions he was dealing with: her music conveyed something "absolute and finished." He was face to face with an "unveiled absolute" in the beauty of the music, and in the spark of romance. This was an embodied version of his inquiries about religion: Should he accept the absolute, so simple and direct, as would believers in religion—and less hesitant lovers—or continue questioning? At this moment

of reflective and romantic decision, he turned to a Stoical thought: he resolved to put in effort—after all, "we won't lose if we *try*"—and he insisted on an honest assessment of his powers, with the call to "drop all wh. . . . is not possible." While his reflections kept him only flirting with his attractions to Havens, he resolved to "try to kick and spur my sluggish senses by contemplating the lives of Schiller & [Wolfgang von] Goethe"—study of romantic writers as a reflective young man's path to romance.[24]

James's intellect continued to intrude on romance. Right after reporting his crisis about Havens and her music, he wrote an extended summary of Agassiz's Amazon theory. He may have been distracting himself from romantic frustration or simply recording to preserve his memories from Brazil: he identified the layers of stratigraphy along the Amazon River laid bare by the movement of the Ice Age glaciers Agassiz proposed, culminating in the "denudations [of the] deposits" on the river banks. The verbal image and its proximity to the previous entries suggest that "vulgar" sentiments may have been piercing through his intellectual expressions with symbolically erotic allure. He went on with more muted observations of "vorstellungen [reflections, imaginings] disproportionate to the object, . . . in other words ideas poorly suited to any practical application." This could refer to his teacher's idealistic science, so out of step with recent practical professional trends, and with abstractions that had already earned James's disagreement; and it could also readily apply to his own constant reflections without romantic follow through. His diary words are akin to his thoughts on doubt-filled Hamlet and his hope to learn from the ancients for bringing "will and performance" into alignment.[25] In his romantic attractions, as in the rest of his life, he was taking aim, but still not leaping into action.

Persistently relying on his intellect, he went on to steel his frustration with cold, hard words, but ironically, these were still abstractions about taking action—thus exhibiting his persistent awareness of the "ever not quite" of philosophy, always one step behind experience; even pragmatism would be a theory about action. But he was already detecting the significance of action, first to enact the will, but also for practical applications that could shape and sharpen his reflections and theories. So he urged himself boldly to maintain that "every good experience ought to be interpreted in practice," even as his current lack of action left his will and performance in stalled alignment, while he hoped for more decisive thought-shaping actions. While these ideas pointed forward to his pragmatism, in the 1860s his impulses pointed back to his praise for the Greeks, who set examples for


the idle, idiotic sinking into Vorstellungen
disproportionate to the object. Every good
experience ought to be interpreted in prac-
tice. Perhaps actually we can not always
trace the effect, but we won't lose if we
try to drop all in wh. this is not pos-
sible. Keep sinewy all the while - and
work at present with a mystical belief
in the reality interpreted somehow of
humanity.

Eloquent without Words.

[Diary 1], May 22, [1868], William James papers, bMS Am 1092.9 (4550), 55. Courtesy of Bay James and the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Although William James would gain fame for his fine phrases, he could also be expressive in other ways. In 1865 he searched for words to describe the luscious beauty of the Amazon jungle, but only "savage inarticulate cries" would do: "Houp lala." When on his honeymoon in 1878 with his wife, Alice Gibbens James, he simply said, "Hey diddle diddle!" The intense swirls of 1868, both sweeping across his diary page and dug into the paper, capture the tension between his impulses for reflective "vorstellungen," the German word for imaginings, and his urge to stay true to "experience . . . in practice." With no answers but a hunch that this tension expressed a classic human dilemma, he resolved to "keep sinewy all the while."

practical interpretations of their world through focus on natural experience unmediated by transcendent thoughts. He did not yet have the terms to describe his pragmatist leanings, but he already felt impulses for the turn away from abstraction and toward action and flexibility in the face of changing experiences, which would become central features of this later philosophy. His embryonic idea took on a bodily expression, well suited to his mood of anticipation, and he even offered an informal description of the pragmatic posture: "[K]eep sinewy all the while."[26] Then he supplemented his verbal prod with wordless swirls.

In anxious anticipation, James remained attracted to Havens, even as his hesitations persisted. He was left with "emotions of a loving kind," but he added poignantly that these were emotions "indulged in where one cannot expect to gain exclusive possession of the loved person." His reference to "possession" harks back to the gender hierarchies in the James family, even as his father leavened his endorsement of traditional separate spheres with hopes for love unfettered by convention, with each partner possessing each other freely and equally. William's feelings for Havens surged privately within him, but for reasons that neither of them explained, they went unrequited—no willful performance, no possession of any kind. He resigned himself to being a spectator with "mere delight" when the "lovable object is displayed"; and he admitted with simple directness that when these feelings are "born in the heart, and circumstances snub it, the reaction is painful." He adopted a policy of retreat from romance, since the painful lack of response "is apt to . . . make one recoil from the object altogether."[27]

So much intellectual wrestling may have been a major reason for James's romantic limitations, even as it provides a window into his early thinking. In his frustrated emotional condition, he enlisted another tacitly pragmatic idea with a blunt definition: "good (=serviceability to us)." Then he justified reeling back from the object of his desire because that possible good "is so partial." He remained in his comfortable realm of theory and even pressed his speculations further, thinking that "recoil of this excessive sort may be found in various religious modes of feeling"; he wondered if his reactions were related to "original sin? antinomianism? Asceticism?"[28] These abrupt moves from personal retreat during a romantic encounter to pragmatic assessment of serviceable good to theological reflection show his persistent curiosity about the theoretical uses of his experiences. Reflections held him back from romance, but they were also resources for his intellectual development; but which theory to embrace—and what action to take? One of his

religious references applies to the perennial human confusions and difficulties about sexual coupling, which the religions of the Bible symbolize with original sin, and another could serve as a label for his own de facto unmarried asceticism.

James's other religious reference, to antinomianism, applies to heavy reliance on spontaneous grace rather than norms and rules. He had been tacking far, in his reflections on the ancients, toward endorsement of grace, so it is hard to make sense of his association of "excessive . . . recoil" from romance with too much spontaneity; if anything, he was weighing himself down with second guessing rather than acting impulsively. There is a clue to this paradox in James's reference to a good "so partial," an indication that he was compromising with ideals, a move that antinomians decry. This religious type stood out in his mind because it readily described his father, who offered a dramatic and potent example of living out the antinomian defiance of rules and conventions by following his spiritual ideals. William James in 1868 was at home with antinomianism not only from his father but also from his encounters with the ancients and with sectarian medicine; they each supported a strong place for versions of grace, including the immaterial forces of spirituality and vitality, as potent factors in nature and human life. This directly clashed with his scientific education with its emphasis on empirical facts and practical impacts. In the spring of 1868, his ambivalence hampered his romantic life and sent him searching for theoretical direction.

James plunged into his ambivalence. He defined the "root of antinomianism" as a "dissatisfaction with anything less than grace," and he unabashedly made this theoretical inquiry personal in calling it also "my old trouble." His hesitations with Havens became representative of his ambivalence about so many things. With her, "the good is uncertain," and these shortcomings seemed all the more glaring compared to the glowing world of grace. In practice, this hampered any action, in romance or elsewhere in his life; so he declared, "I must puzzle out the significance of all this." So he burrowed further into theory: "[T]he antinomian frame of mind" gains justification from "Kantian talk about Ideals as the limit which phenomenal forms can never reach." This clashed with his hopes for "serviceability" which his scientific education was stoking. In his immediate situation with Havens, he suspected such ideal thinking was a "mere vain abstraction," because it stifled effort, prodding him to romantic recoiling. Compared to grace, the striving connected to "any finite progress," including in this season of

small romantic steps, "would seem just as incommensurable with the Ideal as the 0 of progress." That's how his reliance on a good "so partial" becomes important in his mental wrestling. James was finding antinomianism, including his attraction to grace, a posture that eroded effort for the achievement of small steps. For those efforts in 1868, he would continue on his scientific education, whose empirical inquiries allowed for "finite progress," and in his Pluralistic Universe (1909), he would continue to insist on "the legitimacy of some." Back with his contemplations of Havens and elusive grace, ironically, his turn away from idealism supported his hopes for romance. Eventually, James would learn to mediate the spontaneity of grace-filled antinomianism and the concrete practicalities of empirical facts, without fully adopting the messages of religion or science, but taking on parts of each; but first he would need to build up the strength of his will, and that required living with constructive and practical habits so that he could make his own willful choices about his own direction. Then he would be his own antinomian, driven by his own free choices rather than by his father or any august theory. Before he could become so "sinewy," he needed small steps, allowing him to begin aligning his will with more decisive action. This work would be practical, but also action steps inspired by "a mystical belief in . . . humanity." He fully realized that this incongruous combination still needed to be "interpreted somehow."[29] In 1868 William James was a work in progress. But most immediately, in the spring of that year, he hadn't given up on Catherine Havens.

For these practical goals, James still sought intellectual guidance. He found Goethe's words inspiring: "Cling to the Good through thick and thin; such as it is it is positive; the bad that it is associated with does not subtract from it; thus will nothing be wasted in the world." This message gave James hope that with enough "patience and enduring courage," he could "gradually mould & forge the rest"—even the setbacks, even the "bad"—"into harmony with . . . all the good points." He was still hoping to achieve the harmony promised by grace-filled positions but through different means; and at this moment, he was coping with his truncated romantic feelings in the same way that he was treating his other problems and the illnesses of his family and friends—namely, as issues that required Stoic determination, personal effort, and firmness of will. As with his later support for "meliorism" in his pragmatism, James could not yet be optimistic about achieving his goals, but he staked a "claim" to possibilities—as he put it in 1868, "something for the future."[30] Genuinely hurt by his failures with women, he found solace in

his intellectual life, which provided plenty of plans for action, but not much action—yet. He would continue to cultivate his theories despite his setbacks.

James felt some hope that he was "just beginning to break through the skin" of Goethe's work and "grasp it as an unity," with integration of abstract and practical parts of life, as both he and Goethe admired in the ancients. His own first practical step in this direction had such simplicity but was actually a bold move for the shy young man: going for a ride with Havens. Although "the young Lady has many foibles," he reported bluntly to Tom Ward, he had taken this potentially romantic step with her in "the spirit of Goethe which still re'echoes through my being [and] forbids any impatient rejection of a whole on account of defectiveness in the parts." Now expressed with romantic impulses, this posture would be a key ingredient of his intellectual conciliations. He would look beyond the negatives to pay attention to positives that he may have been blind to before, and that may become apparent only in the doing—an early version of what he would later call "precursive faith." Even with all this preparation, the ride with Havens did not produce closer relations, but he did keep in touch. He wrote her numerous letters, even taking the correspondence up again nine years later, just eight months before his marriage to Alice Howe Gibbens in 1878—perhaps he was exploring alternatives. He sometimes gushed with longing for Havens, such as when he said shortly before leaving Germany later in 1868, "I would give anything to see you if only for half an hour." Despite all those deep feelings, he probably did not ever see her again.[31] James's shy romantic encounters with Havens, and with other women in the 1860s, not only provided valuable personal experiences but also enabled him to experiment with the significance of experience for comprehending the plausibility of competing theories, and to consider the power of theories as guides to life. These experiments still needed more life and more theorizing for sorting out his own direction.

Back in Cambridge from 1868, James often mentioned women who fascinated him. And he talked frankly with his male friends about their comparable hopes; for example, his physiology colleague Henry Bowditch urged him to "keep your eye open on my account." But James's "painful recoiling" from romance had become a firm doubt about his prospects for ever finding a mate. Moving beyond discouragement or shyness, he had developed strong reasons for not marrying because of his health and mental state. These seemed to intrude on his ability to do laboratory work, which, as a scientist, could keep him from steady employment; and his indecision was

preventing any vocational commitment. So he resigned himself, with sour grapes, to "the prospective burden of a wife and family being taken off my shoulders." Although he could not imagine the later active forms of eugenics, with brutal elimination of the socially defined unfit, James imposed a tacit eugenics ban on himself because of the perceived poor quality of his own potential children: "I account it as a true crime against humanity for anyone to run the probable risk of generating unhealthy offspring," he declared, expressing his vow as a version of his philanthropy. Better, he thought, "that whatever evil I was born with I kept to my self"; and so, he felt "fully determined never to marry with anyone"—adding a reference to his idealization of the ancient Greeks—even if she were "as healthy as the Venus of Milo." Still, he predicted, "I may fail in keeping such a resolve" because "passion will overthrow strong reason, . . . but I *mean* not to fail."[32] He showed a bodily comprehension of the sentiments of rationality before articulating that theory; and as in the other parts of his life, he tried to apply his will stoically.

James elaborated on his personal vow to "abstain from marriage" in a letter to his youngest brother Bob who was, during the same period, considering marriage and having some health problems of his own. For people with ill health, marriage and especially having children, the older brother insisted, would be a "civic crime," and he added fiercely, "I would undergo anything myself to escape f[ro]m. the guilty feeling of having deliberately put into the world . . . [children] destined [with the] burden" of such sickly inheritance. While urging Bob to wait, William admitted ominously that he had once "made a mistake that seemed to annihilate my life for ever at the time." He said to his friend Tom Ward that the mistake resembled a "great risk" he experienced when "I once was led to escape from a mere physical nervousness, into doing a somewhat similar act. The tho't of what *might* have been the result of it makes me shiver now. But I feel so to speak as if in that respect I had 'come of age' through the experience." What was his "mistake"; and could it be a reference to masturbation or a visit to a prostitute? His words are suggestive, especially for readers with later sexual sensibilities, and because some theorists of the time connected masturbation to the introspection that attracted James. However, this was not a universal view; for example, George Beard who developed the neurasthenic diagnosis was keen to keep from reducing the "study [of] neuro-pathology" to "reference[s] to the reproductive system." More to the point, the direct evidence suggests the prospect of a hasty marriage, especially if based on a

Voluptuous Venus.

Horatio Greenough, *Venus Victrix*, 1837–40. Courtesy of the Boston Athenæum.

Horatio Greenough's seductive image of Venus was on display when James wandered away from his science studies to visit the Boston Athenæum in the fall of 1861. He effectively carried this image with him through his young adulthood. When worrying about his range of personal and intellectual problems, he vowed never to marry, fearing that he might then pass his troubles on to children, even if a prospective mate would be "as healthy as the Venus of Milo" (CWJ, 4:389).

poor choice, as the "similar act," because these were the repeated topics of his vehement warnings. Moreover, he consoled his brother, whom he was trying to talk out of marriage, by saying that "every one must make such mistakes"; despite the temporary "blindness and frenzy, . . . one learns more of life through them than through anything else." In addition, when he referred to his "great risk," he concluded that the experience would leave them "fortified by [the] experience" and "ready to embark on other similar adventures." These words were hardly things he would say so heartily about masturbation or visiting a prostitute. With his vow to remain chaste and unwed, he said, with explicit use of the same elusive word: "[T]his mistake—of

getting engaged—is literally infinitely small compared with that of getting married." He maintained high standards for marital union, and the intensity of his passion for maintaining those standards reinforced his awkwardness with women.[33]

James had largely traditional views of marriage, sexual behavior, and social propriety. On gender relations, he was honestly torn between "reformers and . . . conservatives"; in an 1869 review of books vigorously arguing each position on women's rights by John Stuart Mill and Horace Bushnell, respectively, he saw merit in both the outrage over the "stunted condition of single women on the one hand and the interests of order in the family on the other." He acknowledged that Bushnell's argument for the essentially submissive nature of women was the "almost universal . . . sense of mankind"—one which he tentatively endorsed as a "strong position." He warned, however, that regarding women's "suffering [as] . . . a higher vocation" has been taken to levels of "unjust usage." So he found John Stuart Mill's brief for equality of the sexes important and even "revolutionary"; its contrast with his own assumptions was actually a reason to read it, which brought some cracks in his conventional views about women's roles because it made him feel "stimulated and enlarged," and it appealed to his sense that there is "nothing fixed in character." And he was ready to consider Mill's bold proposals as the next progressive step in the "democratic flood" of contemporary social change. His ideological commentary also included an autobiographical confession: "[T]hree quarters of all men who are bachelors are so from timidity."[34]

He further intertwined his personal issues with questions of women's rights in his ambivalent admiration for visiting family friend and painter Elizabeth Boott. His brother Henry even played the wordsmith Aaron to William as the shy Moses, saying, "[M]y brother . . . would like to express without delay his great pleasure in hearing from you." Despite her "charms," he did not attempt any romantic relations with her, preferring more comradely talk with her about her "good education," language learning, and "great talent for drawing." He heartily enthused over her paintings, even taking her vocational commitments as seriously as he took his own; but he added the patronizing stereotype that "a good education . . . added to the charms of a woman." His brother Henry thought still more highly of Boott's abilities, suggesting she might be "appointed corresponding member" of the Metaphysical Club. Even with all his admiration for her mind and abilities, William never took up the idea.[35] So James's readiness for intellectual

inquiry opened his mind to women's capacities but also reinforced his awkwardness with women and his traditionalism.

He carried that ambivalence into his own mature life; in marriage, William and Alice Gibbens James embodied traditional gender roles, resembling those of his own parents, even as he also related to his wife as an intellectual and emotional confidante with her religious convictions encouraging many of his spiritual inquiries. His support of independent, intellectually forceful women also often led to flirtation. His wife even sometimes "wondered if [William] . . . really could love me long," although she found assurance in his "habit of loyalty." His friendly relations with other women and his long absences from home for work and writing cast a shadow on their deep emotional bond; and he seemed fully aware of his shortcomings, as indicated in his suggestive comment, "I pity all wives . . . in light of *my* wife's example." His portrait painter Sarah Whitman developed her deep sympathy for his philosophy from reading chapters of his writings before publication, starting with *Principles of Psychology* (1890). He gushed with ideas and feelings in letters to young social worker and reformer Pauline Goldmark, often signing them "yours affectionately." He seemed to draw energy from Goldmark and other women, but then, he did so with men as well; he was engaging and joshing with a wide circle of friends and colleagues. In all his flirtations with women, he never indulged in any sexual affairs, but he often played the "old and attached friend" and continued dispensing advice as he had been doing with family and friends since his young adulthood. With his frank and friendly social relations with women and even more because of his avid commitment to his thinking and writing, he went through phases of closeness and distance in his marriage, including flashes of anger and even travel to get away from the family, followed by regret and outpouring of affection, while he always maintained steadfast loyalty to "Mrs. Alice."[36] Even though so many of his behaviors offended his wife, they remained fiercely committed to each other with unstinting mutual love.

Despite his mostly traditional views of gender, James did not shy away from talking about sexual issues. He corresponded with his brother Bob about his sibling's marriage possibilities and his mental and physical health; Bob had back pains, eye problems, and depression that were similar to his own, and he also engaged in bouts of heavy drinking. William continually spoke bluntly about his medical perspective on sexual problems, his own view of the natural healthfulness of sex, and his opposition to sex before

marriage. In the months before his marriage in 1872, Bob wrote to his older brother about a trouble he was having with a "deposit in [his] urine"—which was likely a reference to spermatorrhœa, an excess of acid or spermatozoa in the urine. William regarded this as a troublesome but expected part of sexual vitality, which was in keeping with the views of the time about this condition as a nervous disorder or even a cause of it. In the concern for maintaining energy levels, spermatorrhœa was regarded as a "flowing away" of vital energy, and it was a "frequent symptom in all kinds of neurasthenia," a diagnosis also used to explain Bob's other symptoms. William regarded it as a cause for concern but not alarm, as he noted, "The chief effect of this trouble in the vast majority of cases is the depression of spirits it produces—a depression entirely out of proportion to its cause." Before marriage, when a couple had "rarely snatched & passionate interviews," he expected sexual arousal and temptations, but warned that acting on them would be "ruinous to peace of mind" and "certainly dangerous to chastity," especially if leading to the "mistake" of a poor marital choice. Bob was worried about impairment of his sexual health, but William offered unfettered medical reassurance: "I don't think you need be in the least degree anxious about impotence," and the condition would not continue "when sexual intercourse begins regularly" in marriage. In the next few years, when he began teaching psychology, the young professor emphasized the privacy of sexual relations to the point of identifying an "anti-sexual instinct" related to the "instinct of personal isolation" in shyness, but he also called sexual impulses powerful tendencies to energy, which, he added with a Victorian-accented bluntness, are "far from habitual, & which are . . . very pleasant."[37]

After Bob married in 1873, apparently his condition did improve, and he thanked William for his advice, among his "many generosities to me." And the younger brother added his "regret and sorrow that you . . . are passing thro' the world without knowing the glorious experience of a good marriage." William wistfully agreed, responding that "I feel quite persuaded that it [marriage] is the normal state both for men & women, and the healthiest & best in every way," and he felt "strong longings for all that it implies." Almost four years into his vow not to marry because of his "health [and] the uncertainty of my prospects," he now added, "I don't feel at all sure of being able always to keep the resolution."[38] At age thirty-one, his interest in women was becoming increasingly less impulsive and more forlorn as he went from flirting with Jesuina on the banks of the Amazon, to watching Fräuleins through windows in Dresden, to vowing to remain forever single.

His impulse to give abundant consideration to his many options made him increasingly hesitant and cautious; and his awkwardness with women made him even more worried about excess philosophizing.

A Palsied Will and Some Brute Power of Resistance

Many of young James's most earnest reflections were about the potential to apply his will to his own problems, especially as spurred by examples among the ancients, the counterexample of Hamlet, and his awkwardness with women. He was reading about the importance of will in his physiological studies and philosophical discussions, and he found that they generally sought to explain psychology in physiological terms. An even more immediate theoretical resource for James was his enthusiasm for the Stoic view of the mind's inner citadel supplying the "discipline of assent" set against the chancy challenges of fate. In February 1869, when he was sliding into his worst troubles, he spoke of the ability of impersonal destiny to knock down our "pride" and "our dreams" like a "house of cards," and yet he added in words that Marcus Aurelius could appreciate: to someone with a strong will, destiny could not "diminish the moral value" of life, because a "serene [and] strong will" is beyond the control of destiny. The next month, he again invoked Stoic thought in proposing that Reason is embedded in Nature, a potential antidote to the scientific naturalism that he encountered in mainstream medicine and physiology. The emphasis on material forces within material nature made him feel "swamped in an empirical philosophy"; the message he took from his studies was that "we are *wholly* conditioned, that not a wiggle of our will happens save as the result of physical laws."[39] This position would simply crush his hope to rely on will both philosophically and for his own well-being. He was intellectually persuaded about theories of the active will, but he needed a way to make those ideas work tangibly in his own life, as a firm hypothesis against the counterarguments in his science, and as a robust practice to counter his sea of troubles.

James in his psychological texts would make use of close introspective evaluation of his own mind as a method for generalizing on human mental traits; in December 1869, however, after years searching for health, with sickness blocking his way to professional work, he referred to his theoretical reflections as a last-chance resource. His eye and back problems had reduced his ability to work; he had earned his medical degree as a part of his hope to learn nerve physiology, but he did not feel he could pursue this vocation further; and he was still living at home with no prospects for ro-

mance or marriage. All these made him feel like a mere spectator, as if he had to settle for "mere respect for other forms of life as they pass." Feeling emotionally bleak from the intersection of all his problems, he asserted, "I may not study, make, or enjoy—but I can will." This was, of course, easier said than done since, he added frankly, "my will is palsied." Addressing his simultaneous theoretical and personal challenge, he wrote in his diary that "the difficulty: 'to act without hope,' must be solved." As he had learned about the bracing challenge of crises, he seemed to be reaping some insights from his difficulties, since they had allowed him "to know the limits of one's individual faculties"; and following the Stoics, he realized that "to brood over . . . personal feelings . . . is 'morbid.'"[40] But he had so much to be morbid about that he found it difficult to avoid these feelings.

The depression James struggled with from 1869 had been building for years. In the early to middle 1860s, he had felt dark moods occasionally, to the point of worry about working in an asylum for fear of contagion from the inmates. During his trip to Germany, his mood often darkened considerably. At first, it emerged in brief asides, such as comments in his letters home claiming with brittle humor, "I ain't dead yet." He could not rid himself of his physical symptoms, despite repeated treatment, and they naggingly kept him from fulfilling his scientific goal of laboratory work—and even drained his will to live. He tried to cling to "the hope of amelioration," but "thoughts of the pistol the dagger and the bowl began to usurp an unduely [*sic*] large part of my attention." By the end of 1867, the long northern European nights made him feel even worse since "*here* winter means essentially darkness." In the next few months, he felt "on the continual verge of suicide." Throughout the season, he was disappointed that his health was not improving, and these problems, combined with his isolation, poor vocational prospects, and frail will, made him feel that "I very nearly touched bottom." He could not know how much lower he would sink, but the depths of his depression kept bringing him back to questions of purpose in life. By May 1868, he starkly asked himself, "What reason can you give for continuing to live?" Although his mood was more reflective than frantic, the thought that "the highest joy of earth," namely the affection "between the two sexes," which remained so out of his reach, pushed him to ask "why the thread of your days sh[oul]d. not be snapped *now*." These bleak comments were embedded in a letter to Oliver Wendell Holmes that also included references to the girls he had met, doubts about a career in medicine or physiology, and reflections on his philosophy and religion. He ended

the letter by calling it a general "report of my mental condition."[41] His bleak moods had become so frequent that he could report his feelings as part of his latest news update.

Even though he was getting used to his troubles and despite the sectarian beliefs in the long-term benefits of crises, the experiences themselves, especially with his low spirits, made his head swirl so that he could not fully explain his feelings. All of his confounding issues conspired to draw him down, as he reported with puzzlement, "I do not know [why] I am so sad." Even his trip to Europe, with hopes to reap physiological understanding in Germany, threatened to be swamped by his "sickness and solitude," so he felt simply "deplorably inert," despite all his language learning and reading. And his slowness to improve with repeated water-cure treatments made him feel like many of the other patients he would see shuffling around the establishments: "fearfully old." Although he had started the trip to Germany with high hopes for his education and health, toward the end, he was regretting it for the "loneliness and intellectual and moral deadness" of his efforts. By the end of the stay in Europe, however, his thoughts of suicide were muted by more bits of hope. When he felt "despair of ever doing anything," especially by empirical standards with its "Utilitarian venom," he asked, "[W]hy not step out into the green darkness?" But when he thought of "the fermentation, and [potential] diffusion" of all he was experiencing, even as the edifice of his learning faced "crumbling and evaporation," then he foresaw "some tatters and shreds of beauty that may as well last, as long as they have been formed." After a long letter that mixed bleak thoughts with his "brute power of resistance" against their depressing power, he put his thoughts of suicide aside; although he lamented that "I have'nt [*sic*] got the will," he still insisted, "Never say die."[42] Hope and repeated striving coexisted with the sheer weight of his problems.

James had indeed reaped more than a few "tatters and shreds" of learning on his European sojourn and during his scientific and medical training at Harvard, but by 1869 he felt little sense of accomplishment. In May, after he had successfully completed his thesis and when he was just a few weeks from taking his exams, he again reported that "my bottom seemed suddenly to fall out." From years of experience with his own problems, his report was now a familiar mix of ill health and discouragement about his personal and vocational prospects. He promised himself, like Marcus Aurelius, not "to fret" about his condition or about his upcoming exams, and even added,

"with all this, I never was so cheerful."[43] But it would not last. His ups and downs would take him still further down.

After completing his medical degree in June 1869, James lamented that he was living "the life of an absolute caterpillar." That metaphor of resting development became the basis of some of his early theorizing: His now-routine "policy of rest" after a stretch of exertion would become the basis of his proposition for the psychological and social importance of "Vacations." As in previous years, this policy was showing good results, at least temporarily: "I am far better every way" than in the previous two months. As with crises in general, even his choice of imagery was not totally bleak; after all, the caterpillar phase is preparation for a much grander form of life. His choice of words may also have been shaped by the experience of his brother Wilkie, now trying to run a Florida farm with employment of freed African Americans, but he struggled because by the fall of that same year, he had "raised a whopping big caterpiller [*sic*] crop"; but hope endured even there since his brother "will certainly pay all expenses," and William thought his plans looked "excellent." A few months later, he confirmed his hopes with words of Blaise Pascal, who would later figure so prominently in his "Will to Believe," now quoted roughly and without citation, suggesting he had committed it to memory: he began in the original French with words that spoke to his current condition, "notwithstanding . . . [the] miseries, which press upon us and take us by the throat." Then he paraphrased with an emphasis on his own impulses: "[T]here's a divine instinct in us, and at the end of life the good remains, and the evil sinks into darkness." Such possibilities for the long run did not stop his youthful dark questions about why "there should be any . . . evil" at all.[44] Before he could answer these large issues, he found genuine solace in the action steps he took for his health and in enjoyment of friends and family.

When things looked brighter, he held out the cheerful prediction that "maybe it's the beginning of a final rise to health," but even his experiences up to 1869 had jaded such hopes, so he added bitterly, "I'm so sick of prophecying [*sic*]." Even when he had a decline into "the old weakness" a few months later, it did not discourage him completely, "for it shows that the condition, whatever it be, is mobile & not essential." This suggested a pragmatic-type focus on flexible, small practical steps, ways to transform his theories of will into a life with willful focus and energy. While contemplating these steps, he again drew upon neurasthenic thinking, observing that "I am much run

down in nervous force." And yet, despite all his reports of sickness and healing rest, he also felt "a good deal of intellectual hunger now-a-days." In the summer of 1869, he pledged to "make a creditable use of my freedom, in pretty hard study." He specified that he would "try to make whatever reading I can do bear on psychological subjects," but his enduring interest in philosophical reflection and a range of other topics kept peering through, as his robust book lists amply testify. By the fall, even with his medical degree in hand, he resolved that he would "not study" his physiology and psychology because they involved too much draining "brain work," as the doctors of neurasthenia would call it, but instead devote himself to his humanistic reading in literature, philosophy, and religion.[45]

During the next few years after James earned his degree, and before he found a work outlet for all his reading and reflection, his spirits took still lower turns. He sometimes even felt like an invalid because his back and eyes bothered him so much that they interfered with his work. Although he had written a few book reviews and essays each year since 1865, he published nothing in 1870 and 1871. He also wrote fewer letters. His life at home explains some of this reduced correspondence: he had no occasion to write to his parents or sister, also at home. This was the only time in his adult life when James did not rely upon his wide circle of friends and family to serve as written audiences for his drafts of emerging theories and reports of troubles. There are no existing letters for almost two months in the summer of 1869, almost two months later that winter and again in spring, and five months from July to December 1870; most strikingly, he wrote only two letters that have survived in all of 1871, and except for one brief note, there is a ten-month gap from the summer of 1871 to the spring of 1872. Even as he wrote less, he did not stop thinking; these are the very years when he kept his long book lists. James turned inward with less communication, but more collection of new understanding. Although he would need to find work in the long run, the family's resources in the short term provided him with a seedtime for thinking about his problems more sharply, with learning as a way to cope.

Acceptance versus Struggle

The James family spent the summers of 1869 and 1870 in Pomfret, Connecticut—a vacation time for the others but, for young James, with his recently completed M.D. degree, a time to explore direction, in both his vocation and his personal philosophy. After years of being drawn to and discour-

aged by speculation, here for the first time he applied his fledgling theorizing to an introspective review of his own slide into depression. As with his earlier feeling of being like a moth drawn to the flame of speculation, he felt at once compelled to take on these interpretations of his experience and was keenly aware, as he would explain years later, that such statements from rational analysis were "secondary products, like translations of a text"—in this case, his own elusive feelings—"into another tongue." He even felt his tentative but bold ideas were "misleading from their brevity," as he would later describe the tension between lived experiences and abstract words. Still, he gamely began his self-assessment by defining the terms of his inquiry with reference to human physical, emotional, and intellectual wants and hopes, the full gamut of his current troubles. He began with the undifferentiated mass of individual experience: "Man = a bundle of desires, more or less numerous." These desires express personal interests, which he would later identify as the key ingredients in the mind's evolutionary adaptive power; but, at this point, he merely noticed their subjective character: they "exist by mere self-affirmation." And he evaluated these human impulses with "no principle back of them," that is, with no empirical substance or transcendent or ideal references; but as natural facts, they are vitally important to the individual who "lives inasmuch as they are gratified, dies as they are refused." He then reported a transparently autobiographical concern when these hopes and ambitions, such as his own interests in "natural history [and] painting" (or his romantic hopes with Havens?), meet "abridgement in extent of gratification . . . and in degree," including restrictions from "personal isolation" and from the vexing "unfathomability" of problems.[46] For all of its shortcomings, theory could serve as a guide to personal issues, just as the Stoics insisted.

James evaluated the way different people approach the world and their desires on a spectrum, from those with "centripetal, defensive" traits to those with an "expansive, embracing tendency." As a result of these temperamental differences, "in any given case of evil," or any challenge, each person must choose to either "accept the universe" or "protest against it." These "voluntary alternatives" also appear within each person as "the mind seesaws between . . . resignation" and "the effort to improve." The alternatives can even appear in succession, as he astutely recognized about the difficulty of change, with "the second not being resorted to till the first has failed." And he noticed that each posture has its problems: the first seemed to involve "an insincere *pis aller*," sophisticated French slang for "lack of

something better"; the second implied "a superfluous vanity" about the ability of one's efforts and strength of will.[47] After years of living through his problems, he had found a theoretical framework for dealing with them, based on a primal choice, namely acceptance of one's condition versus struggle against it.

This pairing of acceptance and struggle also emerged in his alternating responses to other issues in his life: in his response to his (and his friends') vocational and health problems, he would sometimes feel overwhelmed, but then he would rally to a fighting mood for facing them; and he regularly built up strength resting at water cures before plunging into work for a few months. This framework would endure as a central orientation of his mature religious thought. James would call his pragmatic commitment to a vigorous will the religion of "the strenuous life" because "it makes the world's salvation depend upon the energizing of its several parts, among which we are." But, he admitted, it does not provide "holidays to the spirit," that is, the comfort that comes from acceptance of powers larger than ourselves and from definite beliefs in the divine and in personal salvation. Even though he himself largely favored the "strenuous mood," he admitted that everyone sometimes needs "provisional breathing-spells"; he found such attitudes of acceptance very useful because such holidays were "intended to refresh . . . for the morrow's fight." His own periodic welcoming of these outlooks enabled him to gain deep appreciation for the practical benefit of idealist philosophies and the "religious power" of church traditions; advocates of these positions were, by contrast, permanent residents of the "moral holiday" mindset, endorsing "an 'eternal' edition of . . . the world, . . . ready-made and complete."[48] Acceptance of such ideas could indeed be very comforting, but he sought more.

James himself only felt "somewhat mystical," as he reported in 1870 about these ideals and hopes, and this impulse did not interfere with his belief, in his youth or as a mature pragmatist, that "the world is still in process of making," even as those efforts require occasional relief. And when he did integrate elements of "the Absolute" into his beliefs, they had to "run the gauntlet of all my other beliefs," including his critique of abstractions; so he could not permanently adopt such comforting positions because they landed him in "intellectual inconsistencies, . . . clash[ing] with other truths of mine whose benefits I hate to give up on its account"—hence his attitude toward religion of "deference rather than of adoption." This stance, however, let him respect both sides, as he considered them expressions of differing

human temperaments—or even his own temperament at different times. He also directed some of his most important work in religious studies to expanding on each impulse: *The Will to Believe* is filled with a fighting spirit of willful moral exuberance and readiness to struggle, whereas *The Varieties of Religious Experience* chronicles and honors examples of the comforting spirituality that accepts spiritual powers.[49] As he marched through his troubles, young James occasionally turned to rest, but a struggling will was his mainstay.

Already in his youth, James not only described the differences between the struggling stance and the accepting outlook but also asked, Could "the two combine . . . ?" He was also noticing that theory was more than the general speculations that had first attracted him to philosophizing. For all its pale reflection of actual experience, theory also offered broad overviews, and this awareness could enable mediation of diverse positions. "The solution" to their "contrasting postures," he proposed, "can only lie in taking neither absolutely, but in making the resignation only provisional." Ironically, the accepting outlook, rooted in absolutism would be a free choice, and it would show "its worth in the action rather than the result"—thus also recalling his career advice not to wait on results too impatiently, and also anticipating his pragmatism. The resigned stance would serve as a kind of "ground" or resting place for building up strength "to advance to new philanthropic action," the prime concern of his struggling side. He did not welcome resignation as a final answer that would say "it is good" to his problems, much less to the evils in the world. The coldness of such a position would mean treating troubles as "none of my business," which would be essentially a posture of indifference that left James frustrated and eager for action and philanthropic uplift. Instead, he could accept resignation only as a temporary measure, adopted briefly while he would say to himself, "I'm willing to stand it for the present"; and then the contrasting position was also temporary because it needed the recharging support that acceptance could provide. He concluded this paper resolution with a realization of its practical difficulties. While personal dilemmas swirled around him, draining his force of will—and tempting him to resignation—he wondered "how much pain I'll stand" and, with an echo of his vow not to marry, "how much other's pain I'll inflict (by existing)." And he realized that "resignation [would mean] none of my business." He was doing his best to avoid resigning to the problems, giving up on struggle, on the effort to overcome problems, but for all his willing effort, his will was about to be tested even more severely.[50]

During these years of trouble and lack of direction, James was often not able to maintain a firm balance between his strong, willful impulses and his turn to acceptance with resignation to more powerful forces. In the early 1870s, he vacillated with increased urgency between these outlooks, which were at once ways to cope with his own problems and philosophical stances on the world. The deeper his troubles and weakness, the more he doubted his voluntarist faith; but he kept returning to reliance on his will as his strength allowed. The winter of 1869–70 was a particularly bleak season for him. He suggested the mind-body interaction that he had surmised for himself when he forecast to his brother Bob that "your mental state is contingent upon the break down in your back." He tried to be encouraging—for both of them—but by December he was reporting that "my health . . . has deteriorated more and more" so that "my back permits me" very little "work[,] muscular and digestive." Adding sharper philosophical terminology, he identified his turns away from willful striving as moments when he was "content [with mere] being," and this impulse contrasted with the "fury of becoming" during times of strenuous effort. Daily life still intruded on his reflections and his efforts to rally his energies: in December, he became so "'stuffed up' with a cold so that one idea is about as indistinguishable as one odor or taste, from another."[51] The inevitable passing problems compounded his general troubles.

By early January 1870, James was thrilled to report to Bob "good news . . . of my condish." No doubt, he admitted with understatement, "it has perplexed and disheartened me of late a good deal," but he added with confidence in the benefits of crises, "all this may be but the transition to a [new] stage." Contemplating the physical version of his philosophical choices, he had decided that "exercise is better than rest." He was trying a "lifting cure" which was bringing his back "into its second stage . . . [of] improvement." He excitedly referred to his book lists, marking the new year's date with resolve, and reported the books he planned to read next, including renewed attention to physiology and psychology, philosophy, and also "finish[ing] father's works." In the next few weeks, he happily reported that "my exercise has been steadily increasing," and at least it was doing "more good than harm"; but he soon felt worse, with symptoms including "inflammation of the eyelids" and "pain in the shoulders." The physical problems compounded his bleak personal and social situation, and the drab weather made everything feel worse. By the spring, he was looking back at the conclusion of the gloomiest New England season with relief, noting starkly to

his brother Henry that "the winter is man's enemy," and particularly "hateful to a sick man," who, he added starkly, "must exert himself against it to live, or it will squeeze him in one night out of existence."[52] At these moments, willful effort seemed pointless.

While still in the dead of winter, on February 1, 1870, James reported to his diary "Today I about touched bottom." He explained that with this crisis he had had "a great dorsal collapse . . . [and] with it a moral one." His general reflections were taking more philosophical shape; in particular, he identified his urge to cultivate his will in struggles to improve his situation as an explicitly moral effort. And his own case served as a test for the viability of any willful moral improvement: "I must face the choice with open eyes: shall I *frankly* throw the moral business overboard, as one unsuited to my aptitudes, or shall I follow it, and it alone, making everything else merely stuff for it?" He was not sure he could sustain the moral striving he craved. He even kicked himself for "using it in reality only to patch out the gaps" between stretches of dark resignation. He had periodically "tried to fire myself with the moral interest, as an aid in the accomplishing of certain utilitarian ends," such as his hope to study science for philanthropic purposes. He had tried to cultivate his moral interests through "salutary habits," calling any feeling that fell short a "moral degradation," but that careful monitoring broke down with all his changes in "health & sickness &c," as he delicately described his troubles of the last few years. Even worse, "in all this I was cultivating the moral int[erest] only as a means & more or less humbugging myself." He vowed to turn over a new leaf by finding "useful ends" that could become deliberate "occasions for my moral life to become active." This, he vowed, would be "my duty," once again to "give the latter alternative a fair trial," and then, mustering some optimism, he added, "[W]ho knows but the moral interest may become developed."[53] The crises had become a basis for exploring the plausibility of willful struggle in support of moralist goals.

James's deep reflections reminded him of the inspirations of the ancients, because they were able "to sympathize with the total process of the universe," including coping with "the evil that seems inherent in its details," without seeking broader meaning outside nature. He again contrasted their harmonious outlook with the modern impulse "imperiously [to] crave a reconciliation or unity of some sort." Between the two, he preferred, "as in Homer," to "have vigor of will enough to look the universal death in the face without blinking." Then he too could "lead the life of moralism." This would

be "a militant existence, in which the ego is posited with the good as its end." Fired with his moral faith, he was ready to say of his own troubles and the world's problems in general, "though evil slay me, she can't subdue me, or make me worship her." His will was at the center of this faith, and so, despite the burden of "brute force[s]" weighing on him, "the final protest of my soul . . . gives me still in a certain sense the superiority." As with the Stoics, and as reinforced by his Metaphysical Club discussions, simple assertion of will would make even the most overwhelming forces of destiny "fundamentally powerless" within his own inner citadel. These notes from 1873, recorded on "a memorandum pad on which I used to try to define moral things to clear up my befogged brain," were so important to James that he retrieved them in 1877 to send to Alice Gibbens, the woman he was then awkwardly courting. With his sense of romance once again soaked in reflective wrestling, he warned her, "This you see was written many years ago when I was going through the pessimistic crisis." It became part of the courtship of an intellectual seeker reaching toward a deeply spiritual woman; on the back of the 1877 letter, he wrote apologetically, "Prithee, don't force yourself to read all that memorandum stuff *now*. Anytime before next fall, if ever, will do. I'm ashamed of setting you such a task." He seemed aware that notes reporting moral theory and personal troubles might not be the best way to win a woman's heart, and he realized their intellectual differences: "My tho'ts have a broader scope than yours," he said in indirect reference to his intellectual inquisitiveness, and he admitted that, in comparison to her calm convictions, he carried "a certain aridity & bleakness of mind." In another reminder of his persistent personal troubles, he gasped, "I am so awkward."[54]

While James struggled, his beloved cousin Minny Temple had it worse, since she suffered from tuberculosis. In early 1870, he had an idea for helping her. Also with curiosity about his own mood and mental condition, he pursued an unorthodox feature of his physiological studies: he took "an overdose of chloral," short for chloral hydrate, a hypnotic whose sedative properties had just been identified in 1869. It might relieve her pain, but also he thought to try it "for the fun of it as an experiment." True to her Stoic commitment, Temple was not very interested in such chemical crutches, but he was fascinated by the drug's mental effects. So he took a break from his medical thesis research in May 1869 to explore the psychological implications of his physiological study; he had already read Jacques Moreau's *Du Haschisch et de l'aliénation mentale*, which made connections among alter-

native states of consciousness, what James then called the "state[s] of mind in wh. ideas are dissociated." James's study introduced him to the emerging psychological work on layers of consciousness, with increased understanding of the "peculiar character" of phenomena outside of waking consciousness. James credited the French investigator with being "the first author who claimed that insanity in its different forms was *literally* a dreaming"; and that drugs provided an artificial route to still more "tumultuous states of the mind." Pierre Janet and Frederick Myers would do still more work on "subliminal" realms of mind, which James used to explain the psychological components of the *Varieties of Religious Experience*, and Sigmund Freud, whose research James was the first American to review, would work from within these contexts to develop his theory of the unconscious.[55] These alternative states of consciousness could provide a rich way to mediate his dilemmas about acceptance versus struggle: depths of awareness to render acceptance more plausible, or mind at the depths with more resources for personal energy.

Despite his hopes to ease Temple's pain, and his enthusiasm for broader reflections, James's mood took a decisive blow just a few weeks later: Minny Temple's tuberculosis was too far advanced, and she died. He could not even find words at first for his sorrow, as he simply marked his diary:

March 9
M+T
1870

His brother Henry was also devastated, but he responded to his grief with words, his mind "so full of poor Minny's death" that he wrote William long eulogizing letters. Remembering his older brother's fascination with her, attempts to heal her pain, and profound religious discussions with her, Henry sympathized that "you must have suffered keenly from the knowledge of her suffer[ing]." He added that "she seems a sort of experiment of nature—an attempt, a specimen or example," and "what a vast amount of truth" she spoke. His words seemed to speak for both of them, and William responded with great thanks: "You don't know what a good inspiration it was for you to write those letters about Minny to me—I can't say—they were a solid gift."[56]

William did have his say about Temple's death, but his words were private and sometimes even desperate. In his diary entry for March 22, he poured out his mingled grief and philosophical reflections, at first with bitter preference for resignation to fate rather than a willful fight against it.

He cried out to her with a directness worthy of Homer: "By that big part of me that's in the tomb with you, may I realize and believe in the immediacy of death!" He realized that "time is long[, and] one human life is an instant," and he hoped to learn "that every torment suffered here passes and is as a breath of wind—and every pleasure too." In this light, he confessed, "Minny, your death makes me feel the nothingness of all our egotistic fury." He now felt little capacity for voluntarist struggle, but even when in this mood of resignation, he sought to "ascend to some sort of partnership with fate." He was no longer tempted by suicide, but he was painfully aware of death: "[S]ince tragedy is at the heart of us, go to meet it, work it in to our ends, instead of dodging it all our days, and being run down by it at last." His brave words raced ahead of his feelings since he still felt overwhelmed, but even then he had hope that he might be able to strengthen his inner citadel, aligning his efforts with fate rather than only be smothered by its vicissitudes. His cousin herself was part of his inspiration: her "acts & examples stay"; her life of forceful will was "one instant snatched out of the endless age." Minny Temple offered a model, albeit a tragic one, for voluntarist commitment despite the winds of fate, but James could not fully separate the commitment to struggle that he prized from the very desperation and resignation that her death revealed. As with his self-assessment about acceptance and struggle of a year earlier and his urge to combine them, he was both eager to "*use* [Minny's] death" to steel his capacity for effort and, at the same time, aware that such struggles were petty urgencies in the whole flow of life; considering even Minny's brief and glowing presence, he contemplated "your death (or your life, it's all one meaning)," and he concluded with ancient Vedic words, "tat twam asi," the advice of a father as his son came of age: "you are that"; in other words, every individual identity, including every personal effort, is embedded in a cosmic whole, the Vedic "Being," akin to the Stoic "Reason." James did not cease his striving, even as he realized, as the Vedic father advised, that he would indeed sometimes grow "tired of wandering about/Hither and thither," and therefore need to "settle . . . down at last," to rest his own "egotistic fury." Minny's death was an intense soul school for applying his urge to combine acceptance and struggle. James honored the cosmic insight but could not remain a permanent resident and endorser of its absolute and mystical vision; at the same time, even with his more deliberate moral efforts, he never abandoned his mystical awareness. But in 1870 he could still only hope for such "partnership . . . with fate."[57]

Temple's death brought sharp relief to the tensions James felt between his hopes for willful action, as exemplified by his cousin, and his dark feelings; "Minny had bigger elements in her character than anyone I know," but her death made him feel "so entirely demoralized in mind & body." Yet he found hope even in his discouragement, as he detected that the very acts of somber reflections were rekindling his speculative interests: "I find myself getting deucedly interested in philosophy." Even with these interests fired up, he doubled down on his vocational work in science; for example, in the same month when Temple died, he also read a recent book opposed to Darwinism and wrote a spirited critique. The French scientist Henri Milne-Edwards had made great contributions to zoological classification, but his opposition to natural selection prompted James's sharp response: "[I]t really astounds one to see such a man give such a burlesque misrepresentation of Darwin's book." The young scientist clearly relished the chance to exercise his scientific skills and take a stand for Darwinism. Also, it was spring, and he was feeling the winter "yield to a time when nature seems to cooperate with life"; this contributed to thinking in more optimistic terms again. By early May 1870, he declared to his brother Henry, "I have I think at last begun to rise out of the slough of the past 3 months, and I mean to try not to fall back again." As James struggled through improvements and setbacks, and through the temporary guidance, respectively, of struggle and acceptance, he conceived of a plan for action that would provide more stability. He solemnly proposed: "[S]trive thou after *order*." And he added with grim determination, "I at last see a certain order in the state I'm in," indicating how far he had already progressed toward achieving that goal in coping with his immediate troubles.[58] With the clarity of his most recent vow, James would seek order as a platform for balancing his impulses and for motivating action.

The Will to Order

James's glimmer of order would come from a surprising quarter, not from faith in fixity but instead from finding force in his will, an order not from foundational security but from orienting coherence. He took his first step toward this goal when he declared in an April 1870 diary entry, "I think that yesterday was a crisis in my life." With this crisis, he was not reporting troubles but excitement from reading the French philosopher Charles Renouvier. Two years earlier, he had already read his work, noticing it was "so different

fr[om]. the namby pamby diffuseness of most," but the Frenchman's words about the will in particular now leaped out at him with urgency. He found "no reason why [Renouvier's] definition of free will—'the sustaining of a thought *because I choose to* when I might have other thoughts'—need be the definition of an illusion." Still, he could muster only a tentative promise to himself: "At any rate, I will assume for the present—until next year—that [a truly free will] is no illusion." It was another vow, mere words about the will, but his terse aphorism provided a clear blueprint: "My first act of free will shall be to believe in free will."[59] This outlook suggested a platform for order not from prior security, but in providing direction into the future.

For all the bravery of James's tone about his "first act of free will," his personal promise was not a first, and it was not an action, but it reinforced his hope. He did not even fully agree with Renouvier, and even these inspirational words on free will would not end his troubles. He had made efforts in this direction before: he had read and discussed philosophies of the will, urged friends toward assertions of will, and tried it himself, but it was difficult to sustain. And he was not, in fact, engaging in action, but dwelling in theory, even as his words served as a promise of action for the next few months. Still, he had found a guideline for his impulses, which had previously been tamped down by his troubles and by his needling sense that perhaps the personal will was just an illusion compared with the forces of fate and materialist factors ready to explain it away. While his reading of Renouvier was inspiring, James reported directly to the French philosopher that "on other points of your philosophy I still have doubts." In particular, James could not adopt the more thoroughly secular outlook of the French philosopher; yet, despite Renouvier's impatience with religion, he had directly borrowed his outlook on freedom from the man he called "my master," the more obscure French Catholic mystic Jules Lequyer. While Lequyer endorsed free will because of his belief that "God . . . created me creator of myself," Renouvier took the idea in a more functional psychological direction as a way to demote claims to certainty: "[T]here is no certitude; all there is is men who are certain." James accepted this voluntarism as a philosophical expression of his impulse to think of each claim for "certitude" in science or religion as "nothing but belief, . . . a moral attitude," even as the pluralism of perspectives prevents claims to ultimate certainty. And this would spur James's construction of his own theory with each "certainty" serving as a "Sentiment of Rationality" (1879) shaping philosophical commitment.[60]

With these goals for science and religion in mind, James would spend the next few years trying to fire up his will; his contrasts with most scientific thinking and his own uncertainties filled his introspective scrutinizing with so many shifts of personal reactions that his path would look like a parody of zigzagging indecision. But he was actually applying a personal version of his understanding of science: prior suggestive experiences served as his research, the Renouvier-inspired assertion was his hypothesis, and his motivational efforts were experiments on himself, now not with acid phosphate or chloral, but with philosophy. Diary entries with hope for improvement—but also with examples of discouragement—were his introspective laboratory reports on his most important experiment: his explorations of the possibilities for asserting free will to launch his mature career. While Renouvier and, less directly, Lequyer were the immediate contexts for his April 1870 resolution, his more substantial guides were in his ongoing approaches to science and religion, with his hopes to understand the role of freedom in each field of his early education.[61]

Before Renouvier's confirmation of his willful initiative, James had never been able to sustain his efforts through water-cure treatments or the lessons of the Stoics, or, most recently, when facing the death of Minny Temple. Renouvier's ideas added the sharpness of philosophical expression. His own philosophizing about acceptance and struggle had cleared the ground by putting identifying labels on his contrasting outlooks during his troubles; his Renouvier-inspired theory provided an explanation, and with that a game plan that focused the lessons of his prior efforts in support of his persistent hopes. The diary maxim was a confidence-building declaration for justifying to himself that any one moment was a fresh beginning, built upon the orderly platform of the will's inner citadel and the sturdiness of a coherent and persuasive theory; that guiding maxim could not eliminate the troubles that surrounded him, but it did offer a way to manage his discouragements—and more: it suggested that with a fired-up will those troubles would become incidental to larger purposes, and even sources of insight. Still, theory could be very insubstantial: its explanations were no substitute for experience. The April 1870 diary entry was exciting, but he wanted more than abstractions. He even counseled himself to work "not in maxims"—the very gist of his Renouvier-inspired insight. So his conceptual experimentation would continue as he also vowed to "see to the sequel" of such theoretical promise in actual action. He specified the combination of theory and action that would give him direction—"not in Anschauungen [abstract intuitions

or contemplative views], but in accumulated *acts* of thought lies salvation."[62] With thought as with action, this was no idle inquiry or academic exercise; this was philosophy for personal direction. His future was on the line.

James's new philosophical position, culminating in riveting attention to Renouvier's words, addressed his years-long ambivalence about philosophizing. For all his attraction to deep reflection through his reading, writing, and discussion with his friends, he was concerned about its tendency to be another force that undercut the power of the will. He had been burned by the very speculations that attracted him because their conflicting abstractions blurred his choices. Renouvier's idea appealed precisely because it was a philosophy about willful action rather than a philosophy that would only encourage further disconcerting reflection. James's purpose in turning to philosophy, as with the Stoics, was for guidance through life. Now, to help his new resolution, he promised himself to "abstain from the mere speculation and contemplative Grüblei [deep, obsessive searching] in which my nature takes most delight." Instead, he would "voluntarily cultivate the feeling of moral freedom, by reading books favorable to it, as well as by acting."[63] He had tried to cultivate his free initiative before, but he had so often fallen short. Now he was ready to be more systematic; Renouvier supported his will to order.

After a few months of taking his own advice, James hoped "my callow skin being somewhat fledged, I may perhaps return to metaphysical study and skepticism without danger to my powers of action." Until then, he vowed, "care little for speculation; much for the form of my action." Far from being an invitation to the nondiscipline of believing anything he willed, Renouvier's philosophical sanction was a basis for gaining "habits of order" and discipline, first steps—but only first steps—for dealing with his nagging problems. He knew how difficult it was to sustain his free will, so he was prepared to "accumulate grain on grain of willful choice." In his physiological and psychological study, James had read Alexander Bain's theories of neurophysiology and habit formation; in the Metaphysical Club, he had heard Nicholas St. John Green and Charles Peirce discuss the significance of habits and belief issuing in action; and he had even written about the importance of habits as early as 1859 when he recorded in his notebook that the development of intellect depends "more upon the early habit of cultivating the attention than upon the disparity between the powers of individuals." But merely reading and talking had not trained his habits for development of a more forceful will; so, beyond his weaker previous

personal efforts, his new hypothesis "furnished the exceptionally passionate initiative which Bain posits as needful for the acquisition of habits."[64] Still, even such initiative for action was not enough.

Recalling his years of struggle, when his efforts to gain health, female companionship, vocational and philosophical direction, and even freedom from worry about insanity led to deep frustration, James bleakly remembered that his only willful, "daring, . . . free initiative . . . [was] suicide": willful action full of passion, but end of experiment. However, the Renouvier-inspired insight would allow him to "go a step further with my will," because he would then "not only act with it," which he had been able to do with repeated but only temporary successes, "but believe as well," with the clarification of purpose and direction that philosophy could provide. Theory and action had each brought him problems, but each had its merits as well. Rather than choose between them, he integrated them, to find the benefits of each: his theory asserting belief in free will would serve as an action, a bold and emboldening "act . . . of thought"; the philosophizing in this experiment would avoid his troubles from too much reflection by providing direction-giving guidance to his actions. Then his theory of "belief in free will" would serve as a platform, not for certainty, but for support of "my . . . creative power" to work toward philanthropic goals. No matter how many forces squash or overwhelm the will, he could still posit "the self[-]governing *resistance* of the ego to the world." All his troubles had pushed him down to this immovable rock. In the spirit of the Stoics, following his reading of Bain, and with the support of his discussion partners and Renouvier's ideas, this would serve as a new starting point. René Descartes launched his philosophy from doubting everything until he realized he was a thinking thing; James was shaping his philosophy from his awareness that he was a willing creature. With his capacity for willful struggle supported and ignited, he could plausibly maintain that "life . . ."—his own and his view of life in general—"shall [be built in] doing and suffering and creating."[65] In his exuberance, he named this path "salvation" because these constructive actions offered a personal and philosophical equivalent of a religious conversion—and an experimental plan.

These personal and philosophical resolutions forecast James's later will to believe and pragmatism, but at the time, they were the fruit of years of inner debate and uncertainty. They echoed in more full form James's pledge from an early notebook that "nothing can be done without work" and his repeated vows to find ways to contribute some good to the world.

His experimentation would continue, however, since his troubles were still not solved at the time of his brave insight. He even made his April 1870 vow with a provisional nine-month promise to himself, expecting some changes only "after the first of January."[66] His declarations, however, were an important step in the development of a philosophy of life independent of absolutes, whether from materialist science, the idealism of his father, or any other secular or spiritual commitment; and these words show his resolve to build up the power of the will to affect experiences in this world—without expecting full control of them. Final solutions repeatedly discouraged him for their lack of flexibility and their inauthenticity to experience, but like his search for absolutes within finite natural spheres as he had detected among the ancients, he still sought the idealism associated with absolutes in his philanthropic hopes for improvement. Now he found ways to take steps toward those hopes, from integration of philosophy, belief, and action; no one of these would be sufficient, but with his will to order he would work on bringing them together.

For the next few weeks in the spring of 1870, sustained by his new resolution and aided by the warming weather, James felt fairly strong. He was determined to implement his will. In early May, he was bravely ready to pledge his "brute power of resistance" to any problem. He chided the accepting posture of idealistic philosophies, so ready "to blink the evil out of sight, and gloss it over." There was no denying the severity of human problems and traumas, including his own: they are "as real as the good," as the ancients also emphasized. But he declared, at least from the comfort of his writing desk, that "evil . . . must be accepted and hated and resisted while there's breath in our bodies." By July, however, he sadly reported that "my . . . symptoms of improvement 2 months ago have not amounted to anything." He apologized to his brother Bob in July 1870 for not writing earlier, but he "hardly felt well enough" to do even that. He was already looking back on his April declaration for the power of the free will with something like nostalgia. It reminded him of "those glorious flushes of excitement during which one says—'let the truth, the internal good unrelated to consequences—prevail for one hour,'" so, no matter what would happen next, "I shall have lived!" Despite his resolution to continue without expecting results, his persistent troubles tried his patience; but still he maintained his diary plan. Within a few months, he had grown weaker, and he even had some regret about his bold resolution. It was a sound plan for action, but it was still an

abstraction, and as he had feared for years, "all thought, all emotion which does not tend to action, is morbid & should be suppressed."[67] His experiment, so helpful for confirming direction and providing a framework, would not be sufficient until he could sustain his action.

While James experimented with his philosophy of action, his vacillation between acceptance and struggle, rest and work, resigned security and confidence in moral energy clouded access to his theoretical blueprint. In the same letter to Bob, William weakly claimed to have "but very few words" and forlornly wished, despite all his avid learning, that he "could console you with religion or philosophy"; it was indeed one of his few letters that year, and he was feeling palpably aware of the limits of theory. The very position of feeling down, however, reminded him of his April resolution to struggle against those negative feelings. He declared that "through . . . deprivation we learn of resources within us," but until they are demanded by such personal struggle, "we should else have remained ignorant" of them. These otherwise hidden energies, as he would later call them, were the constructive benefits of crises, and they gave the "power to resist pain, . . . and generally to keep our heads up under circumstances where nothing but pure courage will suffice"; so even the failed portions of his experiments would support his hypothesis for a will to order. With Minny Temple's death in March still fresh in his mind, he was reminded again that "death sits at the heart of each one of us"; especially with his physical and psychological problems, he even felt that "she takes possession . . . step by step." At these moments, life seemed to be no more than death on the installment plan. But rather than dwelling on the reality of death (both the end-of-life kind and his own gradual version), which he could not control, he preferred "to think of that alone which seems to belong to us—to our wills—in life, namely the keeping up of a true and courageous spirit." Here is the Stoic emphasis on expending concern only for things that we can control. Although he did not mention Marcus Aurelius by name, he did, as with the Roman Stoic, make reference to his "own good will," which would serve as his "inner solitary room" where he could likewise apply a discipline of assent in the midst of hostile forces. And Marcus may have been the reference when he declared, "'A strong man battling with misfortune is a spectacle for the Gods' said an ancient." Then he added, admitting both the appeal of his April resolution and the difficulty of implementing it, "so is a weak man"; after all, acceptance and struggle would each have their uses, and so too

with crises.[68] Ancient wisdom joined with philosophizing and his willful resolutions as resources for coping with his crises, even as the crises themselves were resources for cultivating his will.

During his struggle to implement his hypothesis for a free and strong will, James kept up his steady learning. In addition to his vocational work in physiology and psychology, he maintained his often self-proscribed interest in philosophy. That included extensive private reading, and he had already joined "a metaphysical club, in Cambridge (consisting of Chauncey Wright, C. Pierce [*sic*] etc.)," as his brother Henry reported in January 1872, and he had likely joined in those meetings since the late 1860s, with individual discussions going back even further. These young men pressed big ideas with casual familiarity, and for James the settings provided chances to test out his ideas of the will and belief. For example, just two years after his April 1870 resolution, while still searching for vocational direction, James made mock-heroic reference to "the great Chauncey Wright," who often used his enthusiasm for scientific empiricism to critique James's hopes for the will. The Metaphysical Club's "boxing master" made brash claims about persuading the ambivalent James to doubt the power of the will to shape belief in the face of persistent demands for evidence. In response, James could enlist tangible experiences according to his program for future science. James jokingly concluded that his older colleague "now lies (as to his system of the universe) in my arms as harmless as a babe."[69] The wrangling would continue even after James began teaching in the spring of 1873.

In the next few months, James continued in spirited critique of Wright's scientific enthusiasm in an unpublished essay he called "Against Nihilism," because he maintained that, with his traditional empiricism, Wright "denies this to be a Universe, and makes it out a 'Nulliverse.'" When faced with the "multitude of representations" around us, Wright denies the idealistic view that "the representations come together, and seem to combine and influence each other." James asks, "[I]f each representation is totally independent," as his friend suggests, "how does it ever come into collision with any other[;] how can it be synthesized with another?" In the essay, James opposed Wright because, although it was difficult to detect the "substantial bonds of union, . . . they in some sense unite the heterogeneous into a Universe." Finding support from "Peirce's criterion, breadth of relation," James anticipates his own later arguments in *A Pluralistic Universe* (1909), and he admits that his emphasis on relation of parts and his commitment to "continuity" suggests aspects of the disparaged philosophy of idealism, with its

"duplication of the phenomena," once as experienced empirically and then again as "it is meant." These relations seem to constitute a "transcending [of] actuality" defying empiricism, at least in its traditional form, and they suggest a theoretical expression of his speculative hopes for his will, despite the very immediate empirical evidence of his troubles. Wright would say simply, "[T]hings only exist once," in their empirical forms. But James detects within experience that "in each thing, beside its happening to exist as a matter of fact now, there is another kind of being which we may call ideal." Idealism itself proposes that each thing "has a *meaning*, serves a purpose, is a cause, or an end, was predestined, has a 'Nature' by virtue of which it is as it is." While the idealists have the advantage of emphasizing meaning and purpose, the empiricists seem truer to concrete experience. James mediates these positions by suggesting that the meaning or purpose of a thing is "not *a-priori* and determinant of it," with conclusions based upon a prior plan untouched by experience as with the idealist view. Instead, he suggests that meaning is "*a posteriori* to the happening," justified by appeal to experience within the very empirical facts that empiricists such as Wright emphasize. Michael Polanyi called this James's "looser view of teleology" with "intelligible directional tendencies . . . operative in the world without our having to suppose that they *determine* all things."[70]

As with James's hope for finite absolutes, he was here positing purposefulness, not based upon prior fixed ideals, but in the making, as immediately useful as the adaptive traits Darwin proposed as the active agents of evolutionary change. A purposeful focus resides in subjective experience, generally perceived to be decidedly unempirical, by empiricists such as Wright, and therefore in sharp contrast with objective experience. By contrast, James proposed that "a representation" in consciousness, such as his subjective assertion of will, has a kind of "objective being," alongside empirical facts; or in short, he suggested that "subjectivity [has] an objectivity." These thoughts would prepare him years later for integrating subliminal psychology into his study of religious experience: this subconscious realm could be evaluated objectively, while religiously it constituted subjective experience. In the early 1870s, while still engaged in personal philosophizing, James was hoping to make his will an objective factor in his own consciousness.[71] James's philosophizing was gelling into the bases of his mature theories, but at the time it grew from thought experiments in his private writing and in discussion for support of his own willful action.

The Metaphysical Club camaraderie contributed to James's readiness to learn through his troubles, but he realized that his problems emerged from a convergence of issues, so his improvement might only come from his continued experimentation with a clustered combination of factors in health, mood, social standing, and philosophy. In May 1872 James visited Newport, where he had studied painting a dozen years earlier—and where he had begun his long, arduous path to finding his vocation. The old haunts reminded him of "the ghost of my dead self with his ignorance and weakness"; only recently, Temple's death had filled him with despair, but he would soon depict such dark reminders as parts of painful steps toward growth: vocational and personal choices leave behind "murdered . . . sel[ves]," from paths not taken. While still sorting out his career decision, memory of one such "dead self" left behind in Newport now prompted him to write to his novelist brother Henry, "I envy ye the world of art." Without it, "we sink into a flatter, blanker kind of consciousness." He remembered art's ability to "startle us now and then," to awaken and enliven with humanity's "richest potentialities"; as with his reflections on the natural gracefulness of Greek sculpture, he was also feeling the power of art in contrast with the abstractions of theory. By October, he was spending still more of his time with the Metaphysical Club, but this made him again feel the ill effects of too much philosophical reflection: "I have been of late so sickened & skeptical of philosophical activity as to regret much that I did not stick to painting." It was the concrete observation of physical things as experienced without interpretation, like willful action or the work of science without the grubbing subtleties of philosophical reflection, that attracted him once again to art; so he wrote, "simply getting absorbed in the look of nature is after abstract study like standing on one's feet after having been on one's head." Although he expressed some hope to return to painting sometime—"next summer . . . if it is at all possible"—he was already working at another outlet for tangible study of nature. And so, he added with more immediacy, "I keep up a small daily pegging at my Physiology."[72]

By the spring of 1873, philosophical reflection and work in physiology competed for James's attention. With his desire for order, he felt a "strong moral and intellectual craving . . . for some stable reality to lean upon," even as he was not persuaded by any of the clashing certainties he witnessed in competition around him. He was teaching physiology at Harvard's Department of Natural History, which provided stable employment, but this work included scientific messages about physical facts shaping mental choices; he

was continually drawn to philosophy but burned by the instabilities of its constant questions. Could his faith in free will offer a substitute, with strength enough in the seemingly insubstantial stuff of volition, even when the empirical facts of his troubles gave plenty of reasons to doubt? He worried that his reflective inquiries themselves would undercut his goals, because "a professed philosopher pledges himself publicly never to have done with doubt . . . but every day to be ready to criticize afresh and call into question the grounds of his faith." With this posture, he added wistfully, he would have to "renounce the privilege of trusting *blindly*, which every simple man owns as a right"—and which he admired in the graceful ancients. His difficulty in sustaining faith—in his case, faith in his own volitional motivations—was part of a broader context of faith challenged throughout the culture by a host of intellectual and scientific forces. He knew from his years of trouble that he could not sustain "such constant duty" to engage in skeptical challenges to his faith, so he set his hypothesis for free will in contrast with such scrutinizing philosophy: "I fear the constant sense of instability generated by this [philosophical, skeptical] attitude would be more than the voluntary faith I can keep going is sufficient to neutralize."[73] Ironically, he experienced his youthful vow for free will not as support of the work in philosophy that he would later do but in contrast with his wariness about philosophy for its tendency to bring skeptical dismissal of faith, his attempted faith in free will.

With his first teaching job in the spring of 1873, James felt a vocational answer to his dilemma about philosophy and physiology. Choosing the concreteness of physiology, with small daily pegging at the natural facts of scientific inquiry, provided an immediate and welcome order in his personal life, because he relished "the concrete facts in which a biologist's responsibilities lie." Science offered a modern equivalent to the ancients' intimate connection to nature, which provided them with orienting direction through the modest means of everyday contact with nature; this would avoid the "hot imperious tragic way" of thinking that he associated with restless modern thinking. But modern science did not adhere to those ancient harmonious assumptions, and it offered its own challenges to his hoped-for free will. The strongest supports for the skepticism he dreaded were based on scientific arguments for natural facts determining choices and therefore undercutting freedom. Especially from reading Herbert Spencer in the 1860s and then teaching his naturalistic psychology in the 1870s, he perceived that these arguments from "Spencerism" against free

will would challenge, as he had been reporting vehemently, the possibilities for "moral freedom," "passionate initiative," "creative power," "pure courage," and the "power to resist pain [and] evil." He could not reject the persuasive authority of naturalistic science, but he also could not accept its deterministic implications for a will directed by material forces, which would discourage motivations for taking up willful action. So, while relying on science for his stable work, he continued his philosophizing now directed toward the methods and implications of his science. After all, those natural facts could "form a fixed basis from which to aspire as much as he please to the mastery of the universal questions." As he said in 1865, his aspiration was for a "Future Science" that would be less tied to materialistic assumptions, which would also mean less fixity of deterministic challenges to free will.[74] Rather than choosing either/or about his attractions to philosophy and physiology, James was selecting parts of each, for his theorizing and also for his vocational life. He approached philosophy, as he had learned from the Stoics, for the directions it could provide, even as those directions required a free will that his science undercut; and he went to work in physiology to learn its natural facts about the bodily components of thought and behavior, but he felt no need to adopt its methods and assumptions that he found confining.

In 1873 James was sharpening his diary experiment with a focus on physiology and free will. For his continued work, he had another resource, based on his personal reflections and his discussions with friends. James's attempts to assert his free will and to take effective action exhibited a tangible and personal application of his 1862 Peirce-inspired declaration that "[n]one succeed in leaving Faith entirely out," which he turned into an experiment on the strength of his own faith in free will, with a leap of faith for adopting his voluntarist stance.[75] This addition of philosophizing to his science would bring improvements that he perceived science to need, in keeping with the path of constant inquiry that Peirce championed; and applying faith to science, with identification of initial premises as belief positions, was a bold and even irreverent turn away from the confidence increasingly associated with natural science. More immediately, this stance would enable him to continue researching and teaching in physiology without being subject to its materialistic limitations. He would work in science but be not of its professional norms. Instead, he was making use of physiology for his interests in psychology; he could not know that this immediate goal would shape what would become his philosophy.

James's philosophical questions pulled him through physiology toward his emerging psychology. In retrospect, his path looks circuitous if not tortured, but at the time his impulse was simple curiosity: "[O]f course, my deepest interest will as ever lie with the most general problems." Philosophizing that could actually support willful action was an attractive but elusive prospect. He made his declaration supporting depth of philosophical inquiry while he was starting to teach courses first in physiology and then in anatomy as well. Despite this apparent inconsistency, he did not set philosophy and science in contrast with each other. To maintain this path, James relied not only on his theoretical reflections but also on the lessons of his personal troubles. He was optimistic that he could sustain such reflective inquiries as long as he remained in a "gallant mood" (when he felt ready to struggle); these would "tide over times of weakness & depression" (when he felt resigned). These stances then would allow him, while working in the natural facts of science, to "trust . . . all the while blindly in the beneficence of nature's forces," a trust nurtured by the ancients that could feed his fledgling faith in free will. His tentative resolution was a simple practical one: avoid "attack[ing] the universal problems directly, and as such in their abstract form," but instead "work at their solution in every way by living and by solving minor concrete questions." In other words, teaching physiology as he did from 1873 to 1880 would serve as scientific means toward addressing his philosophical questions.[76] James was finding a practical plan—in his language of these years, an "order"—for finding his personal direction. The practice of science offered the possibility for integrating theory and action for use in coping with his troubles; he would then pursue science to find a practical basis for sustaining the seemingly immaterial parts of life, including free will. He was putting his program of future science to work; at this point, doing science was his way to philosophize.

The fine grains of young James's shuttling positions on belief, will, and action show not only the intensity of his troubled inquiries but also the way his development led him to integrate both his repulsion from and attraction to philosophy. By choosing to philosophize, but indirectly, through the tangible questions of his scientific work, he avoided the disconcerting, will-draining aspects of reflection, but at the same time he was applying his fully philosophical speculations for personal direction and practical purposes. James needed to fight fire with fire, so to speak, to find an effective philosophy as a guide to life as a counterweight to the reflective grubbing after subtleties, which he found so grim that they left him in an "abyss of horrors." He

would continue to pursue philosophy but, paradoxically, by often stepping away from philosophy in favor of physiological science for its capacity to shed psychological light on philosophical questions. James's mixed feeling about philosophy parallel his positions on free will, and also on teleology; in each case he approached contrasting positions, without blinking out either side, used their respective contentions, and formed a third way. He turned away from both idealistic transcendent purpose and materialist claims of purposelessness in his formulation of a future-oriented teleology based on immediate, tangible purposes. Similarly, his acceptance of natural facts chastened his enthusiasm for free will with a belief that each "finite free agent" is constrained by the probabilities that the material precursors to events set down before "fate's scales seem to quiver" with each "palpitating" choice.[77] His philosophical orientation was toward integration of contrasting human commitments.

Years of hard-won personal experience provided James with crucial preliminary steps on his way to becoming a philosopher. He faced choices and wrestled with ambivalence in his personal life; the theories of Renouvier and Bain and probing discussions in the Metaphysical Club offered steady doses of theorizing about belief and action; and his study of psychology pointed to the physiological aspects of mental action. Together, they provided the raw material that would propel his philosophy into formation even before he became a philosopher. More immediately, his April 1870 resolution asserting free will provided guidance for his personal efforts to establish a healthier posture in life. While still identifying as a scientist, he was already tacitly becoming a philosopher. Despite vivid memories of his problems with philosophy, James was working his way toward a philosophy that would be useful as a way to address those problems. But this was also a way that would keep him from fully embracing the field of philosophy—throughout his career, he remained *almost* a philosopher.

Forging the Will in the Teeth of Resistance

James's assertions of will, which would become so important within his mature philosophy, were ways to cope with his troubles, which emerged largely as weakness of his own will in vocational direction, awkwardness with women, and search for a philosophical orientation. Before his first brief theoretical expressions about the will in the early 1870s, uncertainty and depression often engulfed any initiative he considered, but James had already experienced the power of will in moments of self-governing resis-

tance to these dark moods. He found his volitional strength when he grew determined to persist, despite discouragements, on his expeditions to Brazil and Germany. He had to rouse his will still more during his long, often failed attempts to take up the laboratory study of physiology. He found support for his volitional commitment through the model of patient responsibility in clinical and sectarian medicine, and through the examples of the ancients, especially the ethics of the Stoics. And he reinforced his incipient theory when giving advice to others and to himself to persist in pursuit of careers without being too anxious about achieving results. He really needed that patience himself, as he grew repeatedly discouraged but kept returning willfully to physiological study to prepare for work in the new field of psychology. And even as he doubted the virtues of repeated deep reflections, discussions in the Metaphysical Club boosted his interest in philosophy and fostered his initial work in the psychological aspects of philosophy. James cultivated his will to begin his career, paraphrasing a comment in "The Will to Believe," by flying directly "in the teeth of" resistance from contemporary science, medicine, and psychology with their very different messages about the human will.[78]

Even before entering the field of philosophy with this outsider stance, James's hopes for a more forceful will had likewise placed him on the periphery of mainstream science. In 1863 Forbes Winslow's warnings about early stages of insanity included the very thing James was struggling to reverse, "an enfeeblement of will." Winslow added sternly that it is "illusory for the patient to imagine that he is able . . . by repeated and persevering efforts to resuscitate the lost power." This message seemed to condemn James to his palsied state. Winslow was operating from within authoritative science, which was increasingly undercutting the significance of the immaterial mind for impacting the natural world, including human behavior. After reading Winslow, James learned still more materialist interpretations during his scientific and medical training, including from the Berlin lectures of Emil du Bois-Reymond, who vowed to find materialist answers even prior to supporting evidence. Many scientific advocates, following the most materialist aspects of the Enlightenment and the most reductionist implications of new laboratory research since the 1840s, associated the assumption of a free will with traditional, prescientific attitudes that simply were not capable of reckoning with the power of impersonal natural law. Even Thomas Huxley, who did not explicitly identify with materialist outlooks, argued for the "Physical Basis of Life," which included the "automaton theory," his

proposition for the shaping influence of the body on the mind through the action of the nervous system. As science increased its authoritative influence, many religious believers turned to equivalent endorsements of belief based on material evidence, with natural theologies displacing the religion of assumed faith or intangible feelings. And physiology came to dominate the new scientific psychology from the 1870s when James began his career in psychology.[79]

Before James directly challenged these physical explanations of mind with his 1879 essay "Are We Automata?," he was working up the will to do steady work in a field that had tendencies to deny the significance of his own will. This was what attracted him to the work of pioneering psychologist Wilhelm Wundt who used scientific psychology to investigate the will; in 1875 James found scientific support from the German psychologist in his recent observation that experience was built upon willful choice: experience is what we "agree to attend to." Wundt pursued psychology with philosophical motivations, for support of philosophical theories of empiricism with empirical facts. He accepted the reports of inner experience, but he wanted to move beyond idealistic psychology through evaluation of mental activity in terms of bodily processes, so, like James, he emphasized the relation of mind and body. Wundt used laboratory methods for scientific measurement of mental states, saying he considered "physiology only as a preparatory stage, in order to make various bridges out of corporeal life, to reach the side of mental life." By providing an empirical basis to understanding, science could provide a modern version of the Stoic call for knowledge free of prejudices and speculation; Wundt called his research path "philosophical realism" because he believed a "theory of knowledge should not *invent*, but instead *discover* the principles of knowledge." Despite his philosophical interests and intentions, Wundt's methods of measurement turned his work in nonphilosophical and even reductionist directions. The laboratory means colored his philosophical ends. James soon became impatient with Wundt's detailed focus on "fact . . . measured . . . by machinery," especially when the founder of German physiological psychology and his followers directed their psychological research toward specialized structural issues rather than functional applications. He likewise distanced himself from James, even as he remained charmed, almost despite himself, by the American's work: The future journalist, Lincoln Steffens, studying experimental psychology at the Leipzig laboratory, gave Wundt his copy of James's *Principles of Psychology* (1890); Wundt declared, "It is literature, it

is beautiful, but it is not psychology."[80] Wundt and James each drew upon both philosophy and physiology; the way they mingled these fields would shape their respective impacts on psychology in scientific and humanist directions.

James himself was swept up in the shift toward specialization and scientific rigor. In the early 1860s, he studied chemistry and physics with an emphasis on strict accounting for material facts. He read Ludwig Büchner's materialist arguments dismissing the "activities of psyche," and he agreed that "we should not attempt to go farther back than the physical Universe." He learned natural history with Agassiz, but came to associate the idealistic naturalist with the prescientific assumptions he was hoping to move beyond. He was eager to study with du Bois-Reymond and other German scientists who were ready to explain consciousness and behavior in terms of chemical and physical causes. He read Jacques-Joseph Moreau's pioneering studies of drug impacts on consciousness, and he read and taught Herbert Spencer's naturalistic psychology; despite their differences, both Moreau and Spencer provided materialist readings of mental action, including endorsement of the prevalent model of hierarchical levels of the mind's operation, with the state of the nerves controlling higher consciousness, most notably the will. John Hughlings Jackson spelled out the implications of this perspective: "[S]ensori-motor processes . . . form the anatomical substrata of mental states," with those higher states explainable and reducible to the material traits of body. And Jackson and Spencer relied heavily on Thomas Laycock's materialist reading of consciousness. The implication for theories of mental illness was that these troubled physical conditions brought a loss of higher mental functions, such as the will, just as Dr. Winslow had warned. Winslow would become notorious as an early advocate of the insanity legal defense, which promised to displace readings of evil intent with physiological explanations for criminal behavior; and in the late 1880s, he applied his theories, in the spirit of Sherlock Holmes (Arthur Conan Doyle's fictional sleuth, whose published appearance began in 1887), for the psychological assessment of criminals, including Jack the Ripper, who murdered at least five London women in 1888. In addition, neurasthenia, whose symptoms James saw in himself, also left little room for an active will; it offered a materialist diagnosis by explaining a host of physical and mental symptoms based on the physical health of the nerves. With nerve exhaustion, the will would be drained of its ability to motivate and energize the stricken person.[81] In short, James was nearly surrounded by theories

that warned about a weakened will in relation to insanity, dismissed the power of the will, or identified the feebleness of will that would come with nervous problems.

By the spring of 1873, however, James was ready to reject the science-inspired perspective, as he declared that "the mind does act irrespectively of material coercion, and could be dealt with therefore at first hand." Such a psychology would be a way to sustain his April 1870 endorsement of free will; those were brave words with a worthy goal, and his new insight would remove a major scientific obstacle to his pledge. By dealing with "the mind . . . at first hand," in direct experience, he was proposing that the will could have a positive role in coping with insanity, even for preventing it. James also fully believed that epilepsy is "largely a matter of habit," even though medical research since his time has shown its physiological basis; his type of attention to habitual behaviors, however, would continue to be useful for mitigating the disease's effects.[82] His scientific studies were teaching him that the will and mental speculations were things weak or irrelevant, but he proposed their strength, with vital importance in both his personal life and his studies.

James's brought his concerns and speculations about volition to the Metaphysical Club discussions. In 1872 Charles Peirce shared with his club friends what James called the "admirable introductory chapter to his book on logic," the draft of Peirce's first "Logic of Science" essays, which would become his "Illustrations of the Logic of Science" (1877–78). These would, along with James's "Remarks on Spencer's Definition of Mind" (1878) and "The Sentiment of Rationality" (1879), form the initial statements of pragmatist philosophy. Peirce provided a framework for thinking of doubt, not in opposition to certainty, but in contrast with belief, with a spectrum between doubt and belief, and he supplied the insight for weighing the worth of ideas by their consequences. In the Spencer essay, James presented free choices as a theoretical asset for providing the adaptive advantages of humanity's mental spontaneity in dealing with new or surprising situations or for anticipating the future. The very type of mental choices he had been facing in the previous few years, based upon diverse interests and abundant speculations, and even with the burden of indecision, would all serve as examples of humanity's distinctive capacities for mental adaptation through evaluation of multiple possibilities rather than mental reactions to situations with merely routine thoughts or instinctive behaviors. The next essay offered another theoretical response to indecision; while the inability to sort clearly

through abundant choices had weighed him down for years, he translated that ambivalence into deep recognition of different points of view. The flip side of uncertainty about different choices was his appreciation of those differences, which enabled his decisive ambivalence with understanding of contrasts as a step toward their mediation.[83]

The order that James craved in his youth and that his volitional powers helped him to achieve did not have the certainty of traditional philosophy and religion. Already in his youth, he was impatient with fixed and idealistic abstractions; instead, the will's order was in the making—an order not adopted, but adaptive. This personal will to order from his youth would become central in his later theorizing. In one of his last classes before retirement, he characterized his "metaphysics . . . [and] pragmatic theory" as a philosophy that "allows order to be increasing" and "makes *us* factors of the order." Therefore, "the world . . . is what we make of it. . . . The world is *plastic*." James is more famous for his assertions about making our world, but he is less well known for his commitment to order in the making. He realized that references to the world's plasticity "exposed [him] to severe attack"; he responded tirelessly by insisting that "reality acts as something independent, as a thing *found*, not manufactured." In his youth, James had established the basis for his mature position: the plasticity of human response to the world requires the effectiveness of free will. Reality is found; or, as the Stoics would say, fate is a given. And, as the naturalistic scientists were saying, the material ingredients have shaping influence; unlike materialists, however, James treated this insight as a spur to continued questioning about a broad range of experiences. How we respond to fate and to the natural world with our will is plastic—and these particular volitional elements are within our control; moreover, because of the constant interaction of all parts of the world, our wills allow us to contribute to making the world, to shaping reality's future. Toward the end of his life, in *A Pluralistic Universe* (1909), James returned to his youthful theme in asserting "an order must be made." He contrasted this approach to theories based on an a priori order that posit "an all-form . . . commonly acquiesced in as so obviously the self-evident thing." Human striving to understand the world will always be incomplete, so "the substance of reality may never get totally collected"—or, as he was fond of expressing informally, "ever not quite." He accepted the naturalistic fixity of natural facts but also recognized nature's complexities and limitations in human comprehension. Enlisting the will for what humans can achieve, he presented his pluralism, with recognition

of "the *each*-form," as portions of experience are "*made* true by events" and by our choices.[84]

James grew to healthy maturity announcing increasingly confident philosophies, albeit with confidence in his lack of confidence in scientific or religious certainties. A saga of his youthful troubles could conclude with James growing past his worst difficulties when he started to live with ever-greater vigor by mid-1870s. However, this narrative would neglect the significant strands of these same feelings that stayed with him throughout his life. In 1876 he was still saying that "each of us walks round with a dead man chained to him." The next year, when his relationship with Alice Gibbens was not going well, the thought of "drop[ing] out of [her] existence" brought a return of the "abyss of horrors" he had felt in 1873. Seven years later, the difference was not as much in the content of his troubles but in their effects—in pragmatic terms, in their consequences. He still experienced his "oscillations," but they no longer generated a "postponement of active life" as they had in his young adulthood—just as sectarian medicine promised more management of health problems often without cure.[85]

After teaching one physiology course in the spring of 1873, he wrote many more notes and reviews, directed the anatomy laboratory, and briefly served as curator of the Museum of Comparative Anatomy. In 1875–76 he added a course on "The Relations between Physiology and Psychology," in which he brought both his reflective and empirical interests to science students and established a psychological laboratory. These were pioneering steps for psychology in America, and in recognition of his impact, he was appointed assistant professor of physiology in 1876. Despite these scientific successes, his philosophical interests pulled strongly, so in addition to his Metaphysical Club discussions, he turned from reviewing other people's work to writing his own philosophy essays, which first appeared in 1878. In the spring, he asked his former chemistry teacher, Harvard president Charles Eliot, to be considered for the first "philosophical vacancy that should occur here," and he explored the possibility for an appointment at Johns Hopkins University. That is where he delivered his first public lectures in February on "The Brain and the Senses in Their Relation to Intelligence"; he adapted these for delivery as "The Brain and the Mind" for the popular Lowell Lectures in Boston starting that October. In June he received a contract to write a text in psychology that would become *The Principles of Psychology* (1890). After two years of exploring his mind and heart with Alice Gibbens, they were married in July. These events would have seemed miraculous

even a few years before when he had vowed not to marry, when he had declared that "philosophical activity as a *business* is not normal"—adding vehemently, and certainly "not for me"—and when he was often tortured by depression and ill health. His resolutions through those difficult years to take small steps without worrying about results and to make commitments without guarantees was paying off. Two years later, he achieved his dream of teaching philosophy with a focus on psychological subjects when he received an appointment to the philosophy department, not at "some western Academy," as he had said forlornly twelve years before, but at Harvard University.[86] Despite all his hesitations, he had entered the business of philosophy.

Through this career progression and personal development in fulfillment of his vocational hope for philosophy, he retained his commitments to science that he had developed as a student and in his first professional identity. Throughout his career, philosophy as a whole was becoming more scientific; James also brought science into philosophy, but it was his science with simultaneous attention to experiential facts and avoidance of reduction to materialism. Beginning with his program for future science and confirmed by his personal experiences and by his philosophical discussions, he cleared a path for investigating the role of the will in human experiences and the interaction of still more material and immaterial dimensions of life. His understanding of science as unblinking inquiry into a range of natural experiences would become his philosophy.

Fits of Weakness and Exhilaration

Beneath James's rising career trajectory, his range of problems persisted. He did not even stay long with teaching at first. The "great fret of pressing against and always overstepping my working powers" returned to him, and so after one semester, he declined a reappointment; instead, his family's means enabled him to travel in Europe with his brother Henry for six months in 1873–74, supplementing his humanist education with immersion in the art and culture of Italy. His resolutions of the early 1870s had given him a direction, but he still suffered from a "g—d—d weakness of nerve," as he reported anxiously in 1873. Gradually, just as sectarian health care promised, he managed and dealt with his troubles. In the middle of his second year of full-time teaching, in December 1875, he was pleased to receive news that his contract to teach physiology and anatomy would be continued, even with a possible raise. With his morale improving, he declared, "I am really better

than I was last year in almost every way; which gives me still better prospects for the future."[87] And despite all his awkwardness with women and his vow not to marry, he finally met a compatible soul in 1876 who could nurture his potential through the thickets of his eccentricities.

William James met Alice Gibbens at the Radical Club, dedicated to progressive religious ideas—and his father may even have introduced them, no less. She did not have his taste for constant inquiry or his nervous temperament; instead, with her commitment to progressive religion and reform, she was full of the religious and moral certainties that he lacked. He would turn temporarily to such stability in moods of acceptance rather than struggle; and he admired certainties from a theoretical distance for their motivating and consoling power. However, he could not adopt them in his science or his philosophy, even as he loved them in this compelling woman, especially when "the hardness of my stoicism oppresses me." He even thought of Alice with "eyes *like a prayer* . . . , just the expression I have been seeking all my life, but just escaped finding." As with his approach to religion, so with his Alice, he showed deference to her religious views, but he could not adopt them. After two years of courtship displaying still more fitful soul-searching, and even another brief contact with Catherine Havens, Alice and William married in 1878. Knowing his brother's history of troubles, Henry responded to news of their engagement by gushing, "You have my blessing indeed, & Miss Gibbens also," and he added coyly, "or rather Miss Gibbens particularly, as she will need it most." As with William's continued management of troubles, the marriage did not completely resolve his awkwardness with women.[88] In other words, vacillation between his desire for forceful will and his craving for acceptance and security appeared in his married life as well.

In an early classroom description based on introspection from his own experience, perhaps even about his own marriage, young professor James distinguished between "the orderly man . . . who never does ill or makes a mistake or has a regret" and "the passionate tumultuous blunderer, whose whole life is an alternation of rapturous excitement, and horrible repentance." While the former behaves better than the latter, his highest praise is for the blunderer: "*[H]e* feels," which is the "divinest of human gifts, the gift of intense feeling." His classroom analysis did not resolve all his problems but suggested a way to convert his difficult traits into assets, just as he would convert his indecision into theories of human mental spontaneity and reconciliation of contrasts. Similarly, James's youthful troubles continued to nag him for the rest of his life. He complained frequently of back

pain, difficulty seeing, digestive problems, and fatigue, and he never stopped being nervous and occasionally depressed, with moments of craving for greater assurance. Despite his great genius for social interaction, his optimistic enthusiasm for new people and new ideas, and his buoyant messages of hope in numerous writings, he always carried "a deep sadness about [him]," as his friend, the writer and reformer John Jay Chapman, observed; "you felt that he had just stepped out of this sadness in order to meet you, and was to go back into it the moment you left him." He even experienced personal crises again, and they continued to bring deep insight. In his maturity, he began to think of them as revealing moments of "spiritual alertness" and even indications of his "mystical germ."[89] As with the sectarian medical view of crises, James treated them as short-term problems and long-term opportunities for insight and sensitivity. His crises, for all their troubles, kept providing those gifts.

In 1873 James put words on his vacillation through willful strength and resignation with hope for comfort; he reported that he would "alternate between fits," lasting hours, days, or weeks, of "extreme languor & depression, weakness of body & head & pain in back," and then rebound with "great exhilaration of spirits, restlessness, comparative bodily & mental activity." Gradually, his symptoms became better—good enough, in fact, to allow him to function well, even superbly. In addition, areas of his youthful troubles took turns for the better: marriage and beginning his career provided stability and security while he poured his willful struggles into his ideas; rather than an either/or choice, he found that one frame of mind facilitated the other, like rest enabling work. In the hum of his working "busy-ness," he achieved not cure but the management of his issues; he even exulted in 1875, "I have never felt so well."[90] With his general rise in health and well-being, his symptoms improved, and he found ways to cope with them.

James also gained some distance from his problems when he found "some of my own attributes" in Rev. Benjamin Babcock, a character created by his brother Henry for the 1875 novel *The American*, who was the "high-strung, . . . gloomy, . . . morbid little clergyman" who even thought "Goethe perfectly splendid." William was "a little amused" to notice that Henry portrayed the minister earnestly "try[ing] to quicken [the] moral life" of his traveling companion, the main character, Christopher Newman, who was by contrast an "unregulated epicure, . . . [who] found amusement in everything." The novelist remembered the brothers' months together in Italy when Henry heard William's speculations as the endless "discrimination"

of ideas that intruded on sheer enjoyment of Italian beauty.[91] Despite his brother's spoofing, William James was learning to cope more effectively, beginning with his philosophical plan. After professing his first act of free will, his work, marriage, and improved health gave him yet more levels of order in his life, and more ways to implement that plan.

The troubles of James's young adulthood did not emerge in a single crisis but extended over his whole youth before their most dramatic and mysterious features would erupt between 1869 and 1872. That is indeed when he felt most bleak and did the least work, but this was also a time when he first crafted the theories that would help him to understand and cope with his problems. Long in fermentation and calling for long endurance, his "crises" then dissipated, becoming part of his personality, with their insights part of his philosophy. More than two decades after his own worst troubles, when observing the distinction between "'healthy' & 'morbid,'" James emphasized their relation: "[A] life healthy on the whole, must have some morbid elements," with both the steadiness of vigorous energy and the deep insights from darker troubled moments. Life's tangible reasons for melancholy would not go away, but his volitional philosophy and healthful living would keep them from dominating. He did not solve his crises, but in effect, they went into remission as he managed them with increased effectiveness, personally and intellectually. The thinness of evidence of James's own experiences from the winter of 1869–70 until his appointment in August 1872 to begin teaching the following spring has invited a wide range of explanations about his "crisis," with eagerness to understand the particular launching moment of America's most popular philosopher. There is an impressive variety of interpretations generally emphasizing specific strands of his life as causal agents of his nadir experience, with deep, often conjectural readings of pieces of evidence from the low point itself. The first and by far the most influential interpreter offered an extended narrative of James's "philosophical pessimism and general depression of spirits about [his] prospects" and a sharp interpretation of his religious response in seeking recovery, which has shaped every succeeding account.[92] That interpreter was William James himself.

A Composite of Crises for Teaching about the Power of Religion

As an established psychologist toward the end of his life, James provided a lurid description of a time when he felt a "horrible fear of my own existence." However, when the story first appeared, he presented the introspec-

tive account anonymously as the writing of a French correspondent at the end of lectures on "The Sick Soul," in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902). It is the last example in a series of reported religious conversions, after accounts of yet another anonymous French melancholic, the writer Leo Tolstoy, the Puritan John Bunyan, and the evangelical preacher Henry Alline; in all of these, James reported, "man's original optimism and self-satisfaction gets leveled with the dust." And the story of James's French stand-in is accompanied by both a footnote equating the psychological reaction to "a very great trembling" during Bunyan's conversion experience, and another note frankly comparing the experience to the youthful crisis of his own father, "another case of fear equally sudden." The parallels with the crisis of Henry James, Senior (and with the other religious figures mentioned) are striking indeed. In addition to being equally sudden, the stories of father and son also share similar graphic images and a religious resolution. However, where the elder James viewed volition and moral freedom as mere stages toward the higher spiritual awareness he found in Emanuel Swedenborg, William greeted them as culminations of his struggle; the son is not reporting conversion to a particular religion but presenting the psychological usefulness of such beliefs in general.[93]

The unnamed person behind James's vivid description would have remained hidden had he not privately told a friend that the passage, ostensibly from a "sufferer," written "original[ly] . . . in French," and "translate[d] freely" by James himself, was in fact the record of "my own case—acute neurasthenia with phobia"—but "I naturally disguised the *provenance*!" Publicly, he merely said "the original is in French"; with his fluency in the language, he could readily have written such an original version. The disguise was hidden out in the open.[94] The "natural" need to dissemble has generally been taken to mean that he was shy about exposing his personal life so publicly, even though he often included personal commentary in his writing. The anonymity directed attention away from James himself, and the hint of mystery suggested some purpose more important than discussions of his identity in the story of the French correspondent.

In addition to being composed anonymously in retrospect, the crisis account leaves so many factual gaps that it is not a fully reliable primary source; it is undated and the setting is not specified. Moreover, the style of writing is very different from the impulsive spurts of reportage and insights in James's private writings from his youth, so often written with an "animal heat," as he put it. By contrast, the mannered and carefully controlled

storytelling quality of the anonymous narrative suggests that the text is a composite of his own troubles when he would indeed crave assurance, written from memory, and edited for public delivery in order to illustrate psychological points in *The Varieties*. In particular, in this book's chapter, James analyzes conversion as a "mental rearrangement . . . able to change one's centre of energy so decisively." The French correspondent is James, in part, namely his religious side, comfortable with acceptance and seeking assuring belief, reflecting years of troubles. Author James even offered a hint of distraction from simple storytelling by urging readers not to analyze the report too deeply since the "case has . . . the merit of extreme simplicity."[95] Like much of James's mature work, there is a deceptive simplicity to it. Look to these varieties of religious experience, he seems to be saying. Look to the patterns they share psychologically. So don't look at me in particular. James's partial and clever hoax suggests that, in the telling, he was primarily concerned with the composing of this chapter to convey the power of religion for dealing with personal troubles. His own introspective case, edited for public display, was his most potent example.

James's anonymous story about "the worst kind of melancholy" took place of an evening during the simple routine of walking "into a dressing room in the twilight to procure some article that was there," as the French correspondent says with brittle artificiality. The quiet was interrupted "without any warning" when "there arose in my mind the image of an epileptic patient whom I had seen in the asylum." The reference to a mentally disturbed patient and an asylum visit do reflect his own early working experience: in 1863 he may have visited an asylum run by his cousin's husband; experiences in asylums were part of his clinical training at Massachusetts General Hospital later in the 1860s; he included visits to asylums in his teaching of physiology and psychology, and he wrote reviews of books on public health and mental disease as early in the 1870s; and his student, Dickinson Miller, reported on "two insane asylums which he had arranged for the class to visit" in the 1890s just a few years before composing the story of the French correspondent. There is also hearsay evidence that James himself was a patient in the McLean Asylum in Somerville, but the McLean Hospital (its current name) will not release any information about patients, not even to confirm or deny their residency there. James's personal experience with the events of the story, at some time and in some degree, in himself and/or in observation of others, would explain his vivid empathy with those suffering "insane melancholy." Victims of its "over-

whelming horror" did not experience merely the "intellectual perception of evil," he noted in the same *Varieties* chapter, but its "close, . . . grisly blood-freezing heart-palsying sensation." Horrible fear indeed—and with enough power to serve as a palpable example of his point about the potential for deep insight in moments of sheer duress to motivate people to turn to religion.[96]

The asylum setting alone, however, does not firmly link the French correspondent's case to James, or to a particular moment: he had experienced research asylums and also clearly felt youthful fears about his own mental state; but, by contrast, he says of the Frenchman that this case did not involve "any intellectual insanity or delusion." Instead of illustrating incipient insanity, this case is more explicitly a story of religious conversion within a chapter on the "sick soul," a personality type that requires a stark path through utter pessimism about humanity's rational and moral abilities compared to the transformative hope and help that religion brings. To illuminate the chapter's main argument in its culminating example, to teach about the importance of the sick soul in religious conversion, James was willing to resort to a little artifice to make the point sharply, using the experiences he knew best; for "permission to print," he added with disarming honesty, "I have to thank the sufferer." In particular, James's abundant troubles were much more multifaceted; with the Frenchman, there is no mention of philosophical questions, vocational indecision, or awkwardness with women. Instead, this character has a very specific trigger of crisis, which was "a horrible fear of my own existence"; this feeling of vulnerability is the crucial precondition for religious conversion. And the fictional character does not mention any of James's own health problems, but "simultaneously" at his fearful moment the Frenchman imagines sickness in another, "an epileptic patient whom I had seen in the asylum." The encounter could surely coincide with one of James's own experiences; however, while James himself believed in the crucial role of habit and will in response to this disease, the Frenchman does not take up these ideas. Instead, in the story, the epileptic patient adds dramatically to the scariness of the scene. The epileptic youth had "greenish skin," was "entirely idiotic," and looked "absolutely non-human," like a "sculpted Egyptian cat or Peruvian mummy." This terrifying tableau culminates with the Frenchman declaring that "this image and my fear entered into a species of combination with each other," and still more sharply, "*That shape am I*, I felt, potentially."[97] While many particulars between James and his character do not line up, many of their

feelings do; whether from memories of his own asylum experiences or his own abject feelings, James constructed a dramatic story that would generate good copy for the task of the chapter: depths of horror make the contrast with the coming conversion all the more vivid.

Identification with one's worst fears coincided with ways James felt hemmed in by the materialism and determinism of mainstream science. As with the hierarchical theories of mind that James was meeting in physiological psychology, perhaps his proud humanity was no more than a network of mere physical drives. If so, both he and the Frenchman could say, "[n]othing that I possess can defend me against that fate, if the hour for it should strike for me." And the Frenchman adds a note of hope that also coincides with James's own skepticism about these features of the scientific ethos: that lurking fate awaits, but only potentially so. As James would perennially endorse, other possibilities endure, even at such a dark hour. With different personal traits but similar desperate feelings, both James and his character experienced seasons of "quivering fear." They diverged more fully in how they would respond to those feelings. For the Frenchman in the throes of religious conversion, as for "sick souls" in general, unlike for James himself, the will was no defense, so the story contains no references to assertions of free will or moral struggle, which were at the center of real-life young James's crises and hopes. The condition of a sick soul could be answered only by religious conversion, whereas James, who shuttled between crises and effortful struggle, gradually learned to manage his persistent troubles without adopting such fixed answers. However, like James during his own crises, this anonymous character reported his troubling experience as "a revelation," a moment of deep insight; and, for both, these burdens spurred deep sympathy for "the morbid feelings of others."[98]

James himself would extend this sympathy into a sense of the commonality of all humanity, sick and healthy. In the 1890s, after taking his psychology students to an insane asylum, he talked about "a dangerous, almost naked maniac" they had seen, and added pensively, "[Harvard] President [Charles] Eliot might not like to admit that there is no sharp line between himself and the men we have just seen, but it is true." He could remember his own youthful experience when he was indeed chained to such troubles, when he had already said "we are all potentially such sick men. The sanest and best of us are of one clay with lunatics." These statements went against the grain of late nineteenth-century propriety and social hierarchy in depicting an elusive line between normal and abnormal. While university presidents,

most people in general, and he himself would find ways to cope with their troubles, he indeed went through stark seasons without such capacity. When deep within these experiences, when armed with less calm and more vulnerability, even just witnessing such mental disturbance in others posed an unsettling reminder of his own potential troubles. So he depicted the French correspondent feeling amazed by those, like his own mother, who lived with such "unconsciousness of danger." Reference to Mary James is another point of possible intersection with James himself since the description of her as "a very cheerful person" who lived with little inquiry into "dangerous" speculations closely matches his mother, who was astute but not particularly reflective. In contrast with such "healthy-minded" personalities, the sick soul confronted the vulnerability of existence, deeply feeling the "pit of insecurity beneath the surface of life." For these troubled souls, the sense of the insufficiency of the natural self demands recourse to wholesale redemption in order to feel truly whole: "[T]he deliverance must come in as strong as the complaint, . . . with blood and miracles and supernatural operations," he observed in his role as "impartial onlooker." "Help!" sounds the cry of the sick soul, "help!" because "there is *something wrong about us* as we naturally stand."[99]

The French correspondent's account expressed the parts of James with a history of craving security and comfort when his willful strength was not enough, such as his visits to water cures after periods of intense work, his times of preference for acceptance rather than struggle, his theoretical acknowledgment of "holidays to the spirit," his deep respect for religion, and his own spiritual experiences. The reported fictional case, however, veered toward a more extreme version of resignation of will than any that James himself ever directly reported, and the case went beyond James's own spiritual beliefs in its statement that "this experience of melancholia of mine had a religious bearing." The French correspondent reported that if he had not "clung to scripture-texts, . . . I think I should have grown really insane." The sufferer even explained which particular verses offered the most help, specifying, "'The eternal God is my refuge,' etc., 'Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy-laden,' etc., 'I am the resurrection and the life,' etc.," making for a rather didactic list—ritually displayed, with the "etc." at the end of each verse showing even some impatience. Yet James did respect the scriptures. In 1868, while at Divonne water cure, he realized that he had forgotten "my Bible" at home; even though he missed it, he felt so different from the "pious" figures around him that he felt "*ashamed* to

borrow" any of their copies. James simply did not pray with the Bible's references to transcendental relief. He even said that prayer made him feel "foolish and artificial." In his letters, he would gush with emotion, often extravagantly, and he would lament his troubles, but he hardly ever mentioned prayers, except in his fondness for using religious words such as "Pray do what you can . . . ," and "a blessing on you . . ." in conversation and letters. When already feeling troubled in 1868, he made a notable exception, when recording a favorite prayer in his diary: "Now God help me through this! for you know that I am in the right and you see that I am trying to help myself." He called it "one fine prayer" because it was designed to boost one's confidence and will, in striking contrast with most prayers for passive comfort and worshipful piety.[100] But in his fictional character, James pays homage to prayerful religion.

When viewing others in general, James showed deep respect for those who had genuine "intercourse between themselves and higher powers with which they feel themselves to be related." Although James never put his own name to such traditional supplications for his own troubles, he did support the general impulse, but in less denominational, more spiritual forms. In place of the "refined supernaturalism" of traditional Western religion, he endorsed a "crasser" spirituality, a "piecemeal supernaturalism," circulating in natural life and emerging in less august ways. Ever since his youth, he maintained more of an attitude of "deference rather than . . . adoption" for Christianity or any particular religion, even as he more firmly believed in the "mother sea and fountain head of all religions" in depth psychology and mysticism. So, when first delivering *The Varieties* as lectures, he felt a poignant sympathy for his audience because "I seem doubtless . . . to be blowing hot & cold, explaining away Xianity [Christianity], yet defending the more general basis from which I say it proceeds."[101] While he showed abundant deference for varieties of religion, he himself adopted spirituality, even as he includes in *The Varieties* how conversion leads to the adoption of a whole range of beliefs, including those that sick souls craved.

Despite James's differences from his anonymous character in *The Varieties*, they clearly had some kinship. The pattern of seeking comfort was the same, even if they differed in tone and degree of traditionalism; these were useful elements of his story that could give *The Varieties* immediate broad appeal; he had already identified theoretic rationality as one of many ways of thinking, and here was a chance to bridge from the theoretic rationality of the academic world to the world of popular thinking. He exaggerated his own

experiences in depicting a character who had embraced more acceptance and less struggle so that he could convey his profound admiration for the powerful role of religious beliefs in human psychology. Taking the case as a primary-source record, its facts conform with James's biography in one of his own activities (visiting an asylum) and with feelings that coincide with large portions of his troubles and commitments in early adulthood (uncertainty, depression, weakness, religious leanings); however, the case strays from the historical young James in that it does not report on the abundant times he showed contrasting sentiments, especially his willful efforts, a keen appetite for learning, and his personal rather than traditional religious leanings. The case of the Frenchman's crisis and conversion exhibits a version of one part of his twin leanings for comfort and for struggle from his quest to sort through the diverse strands of his own development. The lessons of his own youthful troubles were personal guideposts to live with enough order to provide security, and enough will to spur struggling on—and he learned that their balance would never be fixed and final. Writing years later, he could speak so calmly through the French correspondent because he had already worked through how to cope with his own problems. In *The Varieties*, James promised his readers that he would be paying less attention to the roots of particular religious beliefs than to the "value of their fruits," so no wonder he asked readers not to look too carefully at the actual roots of this dramatic case.[102] He did not need to agree with the Frenchman's particular beliefs to realize the value of these types of fruits for the dark nights of any soul.

For *The Varieties*, James gathered stories based on his sense of their importance for illustrating dimensions of human psychology and spirituality. From this story hunting and fact gathering, he arrived at his personal approach to religion after evaluating these diverse worldviews for and against religion, and many different religious beliefs—and also after scrutinizing diverse parts of himself. He even said that writing *The Varieties* would be "*my* religious act"—in the Frenchman's story and throughout. He had already explained the energetic sides of his spirituality, his eagerness for willful struggle, in his "Will to Believe"; now his own experiences with discouragement were well suited to explaining the sick soul on a path to conversion, even as he selected only portions of his memories to suit the topic. This understanding of James's story of the French correspondent as portions of himself, based on a composite of his crisis experiences, and stylized for teaching about the power of religion for dealing with personal troubles,

bears some resemblance to Sigmund Freud's theory of "screen memories." These are memories, Freud explains, that help in the process of coping with difficult experiences of the past; "what is recorded is another psychical element closely associated with the objectionable one," displacing it with a more conventionally favorable story. Freud's idea coincides with James's case in that the later rendition includes reference to earlier experiences and a traditionalist conclusion to the narrative. However, Freud describes early childhood memories while James is probably constructing an account from experiences in his young adulthood. Where children generally have obscure bits of perception that are later brought together, unconsciously, into a screen memory, James likely had adult memories with more potential for clarity; however, he produced a translucent memory, with its elements of obscurity coming from his own deliberate reconfiguration of the narrative. In addition, this memory of young adulthood was not just for his own private favorable consumption but was adapted for public presentation in lecture and book publication. In place of a screen memory for protecting himself from his prior pains, James had already overtly embraced his troubles as learning experiences; and in his maturity, he was ready to make use of portions of his development in a kind of public screening for teaching about religion's hopeful potential. Finding his own path through his troubles was a test case for his construction of theories. The French correspondent expressed the parts of James that embraced religion, that felt the limits of all human striving, including his own theoretical elaborations, because there is something limited in us as we naturally stand, even as we strive to reason through our issues—just the points he was trying to make in the "Sick Soul" chapter. The fictional character expressed the limits of human capacities before the need for conversion, and James himself urged attention to the limits of all human thoughts and beliefs. They would both endorse "ever not quite"; the Frenchman expressed it religiously, and James extended it still further.[103]

When James wrote about an undated crisis in the guise of an anonymous Frenchman's deep religious experience, he could have been drawing inspiration from any of his own experiences that he readily described in the language of crises, including his sectarian medical treatments, his embarrassments with women, the inability of the "moral business" to keep his will motivated, his frustration with reductionist theories of mind, his poor health with reduced ability to do laboratory and other work, his often profound depression, and even his passing disappointments and reactions to the

gloom of winter weather. The very difficulties of his "crises," by catching him up short, served as cracks in the routines of life. They were moments of pain, even of great physical or psychological suffering, but they were also times of exposure to new experiences and new ideas. As these changes forced him to adapt, the crises became spurs to spontaneity, moments of openness to the range of what life's chances could provide. He would later identify his relish for novelty as a key feature of his philosophy, but by the early 1870s he was already living with increased acceptance of spontaneity; the hurting part of the crises became the cost of gaining such vigor and insight.

James's approach to his troubles reflected his admiration for the Stoic firmness of will. In addition, he wrote to himself in his diaries to boost his fledgling will; he wrote to friends to encourage their motivation and commitment, along with his own; and he thrashed out supporting theories of belief and habit formation in philosophical discussion. James's assertions of will began in private reflection about his personal issues, but he would soon use those introspections as microcosms of a broader support of the will and other immaterial elements of consciousness; and that work of his maturity was part of the whole revolt against the positivist confidence in science that supported materialist philosophies.[104] Before becoming a pioneer in that turn toward skepticism about determinism, with more acceptance of chance and probabilities as integral parts of the world and as insights for understanding its ways, James in the quiet of his diary enlisted his own free will as a sturdy way to cope with the confident claims of science and religion, each emerging from the mother sea of ancient cosmic quests, each with robust methods of persuasion, each subject to limitation, each providing social benefits through the public habits of evolving traditions, and each needing to run the gauntlets of individual choice and verification. In his youth, James established the grounding questions and orienting directions of his mature work, not despite his troubles or after he had resolved them, but through them, especially as he worked his way toward embrace of free will.

While the message James was receiving from his vocational work was that no effort of will could generate substantial change, he developed a position, through the school of experiences in his young adulthood and with the sturdy theoretical sanction of Charles Renouvier, for believing in his willful actions, with those choices serving as his first act of free will. While still working as a scientist, and even as he would retain a lifelong respect for

scientific facts and methods, his practice of recognizing the significance of volition and other apparently immaterial elements of experience would emerge not instead of his science but from an endorsement of science without commitment to reductionist materialism. Broader contexts of his youthful development further supported his emerging position, including ideas from his father, clinical and sectarian medicine, the ancients, romantic writers, and his own experience of personal troubles, with each presenting alternatives to purely materialistic readings of nature. If nature was indeed more than its physical substance, then there was room in it for forces like the will—not reduced to material factors, but also itself materially embedded—that was the character of his naturalism. As he gained strength, he aimed to take these insights into the heart of the scientific psychology he was studying and starting to teach—he aimed then not only to use the will but to understand it as well. His personal commitments would become his vocational work.

James entered the field of physiological psychology with the personal drive that comes with hard-won new insights. His empiricist commitment to natural experiences along with his skepticism about materialist approaches did not translate into an eagerness to dismiss science, even as he perceived its limits, with its uncertainties paralleling the mysteries of religion. Just as he had been learning to cope with other dimensions of his life, he would overcome reductionism in science not by trying to defeat it or even by going around it, but by making use of those materialist declarations themselves—as first steps, but not the last word. He would try to find a place for the will, religious belief, and other immaterial ingredients of experience within scientific psychology by understanding them as natural experiences that circulate with both material ingredients and factors beyond the palette of materialism, and beyond the pale of positivism. This outlook, which began as a personal philosophical orientation, became a touchstone for organizing his mature philosophizing, with patterns of order, but without expectations for certainty. The order James sought was not from prior plans but from patterns in the making, woven from the cloth of human experience, starting with his own. With this preparation for philosophizing, James developed theories emphasizing the concrete and fallible, for offering direction through experience toward the future. Starting in his youth, he rejected the commitments of particular factions of humanity with their abstract solutions grounded in mainstream science and traditional religion. This freed him to

turn his inquiries about the rich and perplexing abundance of experience into theoretical formulations in psychology, philosophy, spiritual life, and social commentary. For James, order was not premade, but "in the making," and truth "awaits parts of its complexion from the future."[105] These philosophical declarations about the significance of the future from the end of James's life had their roots in his youth, when those theories were still in his future. The formation of James's own philosophy would begin with the choices he made throughout his youth.

An Earnestly Inquiring State

> [M]y mind was never in a more active, i.e. earnestly inquiring state and problems define themselves more sharply to me.
>
> William James, 1869

When William James's title as professor of philosophy finally caught up with his impulses to philosophize, his earlier experiences became an asset. With his ability to bridge psychological science and speculative philosophy, he flourished in the classroom and with professional and popular writing, even as his energy was often drained by feelings of weakness. By early 1880s, however, he had simply worked his vulnerable traits into his schedule, expecting by the end of the school year to be suffering his "usual annual collapse"—crises by calendar. At the end of each academic year, he reported, "I always come tumbling down," so he adapted the lessons of his water-cure recuperations: after pouring out his energies in teaching and lecturing, summers were his time for relaxing, but in characteristic active form, they were also times for hiking, and "reading up my arrears" in psychology and philosophy, with still more reading further afield, "in preparation for next winter's work."[1]

On March 13, 1884, while still on the energetic side of his annual cycle, James delivered a lecture at the Harvard Divinity School, "One word about Free-will," that would become the basis of his essay "The Dilemma of Determinism." He began his lecture by frankly admitting his own endorsement of free will, and he even paraphrased his April 1870 vow in arguing to let "our first act of freedom . . . be to affirm that we are free." He likely added a smile to his insistence that a commitment to freedom, after all, "ought not to be forced"; besides, contrasting positions offered their own insights. In this case, the determinists relied on materialist thinking with important reminders about the naturalistic character of experience and the constraints on choice. In introducing his topic, James not only relied on his intellectual commitment to possibilities beyond any one point of view, including his own; he also considered the

immediate context before him, the mingling of immaterial and material life with a lecture about ideas and the actual physical experiences of those sitting to listen. Surmising the thoughts in his audience, he used a metaphor drawn from news of the time about surging immigration into industrial America; he portrayed an "Italian woman" who had arrived not to stay but who "had come to America in order to raise funds to carry her back to Italy again." In the same way, he proposed that his listeners were likely most at home not in his words but in their own thoughts. So he imagined applause at the end from "joy . . . when it is all over," when they are "at last free to escape from the sound of the lecturer's voice," free to carry its intellectual sparks back to their own experiences. This disarmingly direct and tangible example displays an embodied version of his commitment to "human trust in a future yet unrealized," even as he recognized potential enrichment from new and even contrasting ideas.[2] *For young James, however, this reliance on immediate experience and trust in the future, would be a long time in coming.*

Throughout a young adulthood of personal troubles and wide-ranging education, William James was unmoored by the very abundance of his choices. Caught in a swirl of difficulties, different days—or even hours—brought whole new expectations about his prospects. He took a long time to grow up, even as that moratorium period until he was in his early thirties would add to the depths of his development. During his years of indecision and depression, he never stopped learning, and he constantly reflected on events of his life and even small shifts in his philosophical outlook, his vocational direction, and his health and social relations. For all the problems he experienced, he generally addressed them "by [him]self with pen in hand." Writing was a way to unload the burden of the troubles themselves, to capture thoughts from introspection and from discussion with friends, and to reflect on problems for possible solutions. James's philosophical commitment to the significance of experience started with his own. As his colleague George Herbert Palmer noted about his way of philosophizing, "using his own eyes and ears," he offered "pungent statement[s] of just how things looked to him." He looked at experience without blinking, even when those sources were none too august or professionally sanctioned, since after all, James observed, "augustness" is hardly a "decisive mark . . . of truth."[3] The very range of his youthful experiences, and the depth of their challenges, would become creative resources for his mature work.

Between Science and Philosophy

In the 1870s James began his professional career by making use of both science and philosophy. The very process of working in scientific fields while cultivating his own philosophy encouraged his challenges to scientific assumptions; however, he developed his philosophical theories not in defiance of science, but by working through science, with scientific work and its fidelity to natural facts serving first as ways to manage his wariness about philosophical speculation and then as a method for further philosophical inquiry. He would find meaning and animating power within the facts of natural experience using materialist science as a first step, not the last word. He worked in science until his reflections on its implications generated his philosophizing; and he transformed his issues of personal concern into professional discourse as he gained academic stature and a public hearing. The combination of training in his scientific disciplines, religious interest, and cultivation of humanistic artistry from his outside reading and reflections provided him with approaches for expressing his philosophical views in ways that would be new and inviting rather than just eccentric, a leap his father never could make. This is the birth of the best-known James. Because he built his theories from an eclectic combination of fields, his ideas would invite charges of inconsistency or indecisiveness; witness the paradoxical combination of words in the title of one of his philosophical essays "The Sentiment of Rationality" and the range within that text which begins with "recent psychological speculation" and ends with "mysteriousness . . . [in] the nature of things."[4] But to the author, both paths were plausible applications of fidelity to natural experience.

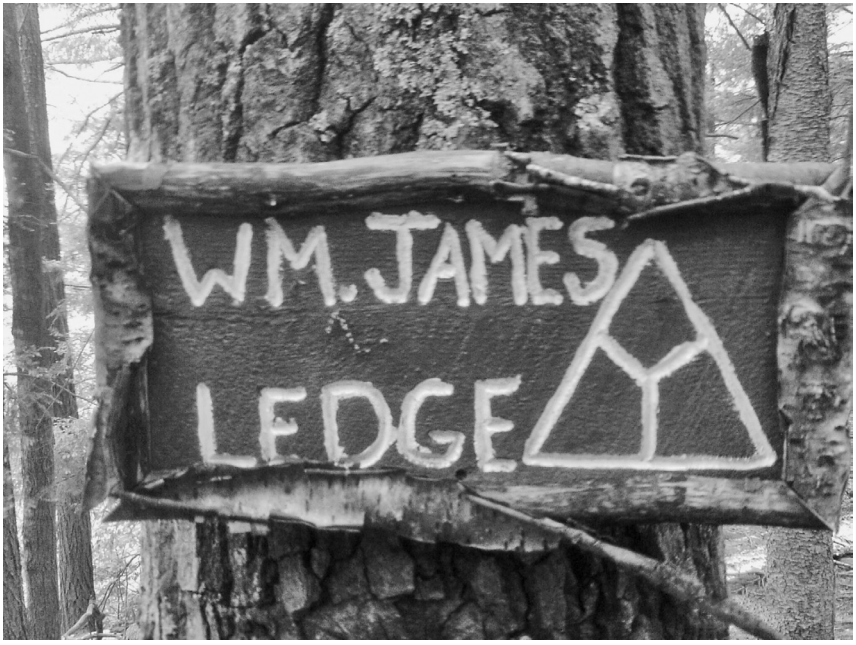
This late-1870s vocational birth was long in gestation through his scientific education and avocational learning, with private and public writing galvanizing the insights of his youth and serving as dress rehearsals for later work. His first extensive essays were written in such rapid succession starting in 1878 that they were surely built upon the immediately preceding work and speculations, even as they laid the groundwork for his more elaborated theories. At the time, however, his main task was to bridge his current scientific training with his philosophical speculation. Thinking of his essays as chapters in a planned "psychological work on the motives which lead men to philosophize," he made use of his youthful drive to find immaterial and humanistic elements, along with the physical facts, within the nature he was studying. He contrasted his views with "[Herbert] Spencer's

Definition of Mind" (January 1878), detecting adaptive purpose in the spontaneity of human consciousness; he supported "The Subjective Method" (January 1878) within scientific psychology, for its ability to spur energy, effort, and action; he assessed the ability to free from routine as the value added from human mental evolution, compared to nonhuman minds, his comparison of "Brute and Human Intellect" (July 1878); he responded to the contemporary question, "Are We Automata?" (January 1879), with a sharp critique of this reduction of mind exclusively to its physical factors; and he explored "The Sentiment of Rationality" (July 1879) on the role of physiological frameworks and psychological temperaments in shaping philosophical commitments. These works catapulted James to fame. For example, Ernst Mach, the influential Austrian philosopher and physicist, in presenting his "idea of concepts as labor-saving devices" in the 1880s praised the "refreshing vigor" of "The Sentiment of Rationality" and found "points of agreement," especially because they both perceived "the constantly augmenting sweep of experience," with enormity of facts "simplified by the action of concepts."[5] In less than two years, James both applied his scientific education and critiqued it, enabling his ideas to circulate with cutting-edge science, even as he also found a place for the role of life and mind, with their mysteries and direction-giving power.

While James never wrote his planned psychology for philosophizing, these essays would become first drafts of his *Principles of Psychology*, which would brew for more than another decade before publication, almost as long as his own prior varied education. James's major psychology book served as a summary of the state of the field in 1890; and yet, despite his thorough coverage of empirical facts of mind and behavior, and his vow to adhere to a "strictly positivistic point of view," he kept turning to philosophical questions. At this point, he expressed the unorthodox dimensions of his leanings more through critique of scientific certainty than with the presentation of alternatives—in effect, he applied the skeptical scrutiny of positivism to science itself. James's ready mingling of psychology and philosophy has added to his reputation for indecision, or for professional caution in his willingness to adopt what Gerald Myers has called a "provisional dualism" in his psychology text before the explicit nondualism of his later writings. However, viewing the arc of his career beginning with his young adulthood shows that James was consistently nondualist throughout; in this commitment, however, he did not oppose dualism but encompassed it as an intellectual tool useful for some purposes. In particular, he readily

worked within the reigning dualist methodology that dominated scientific psychology, limiting his philosophical thought to commentary on the limits of this method and on issues left unresolved. These philosophical comments can look like reflective intrusions on his science in the immediate work of midcareer, when he was establishing his reputation in psychology.[6] However, to James they were naturally interwoven with that work, and they show that, as with his view of materialism, he would regard dualism as a useful way to illuminate some portions of natural experience.

James continued to apply his psychology to his philosophizing, and he continued his youthful mingling of material and immaterial realms of life, in addressing frequently contested dualities of body and mind and related contrasts in other fields. In "The Will to Believe" (1897), immediately next to his insistence on the fixity of fact for the empirically explicit, he argued for the justification of belief when faced with genuinely ambiguous options, especially in religion—action steps without tangible guarantee, just as he had already resolved at the end of his youth. He brought together his respect for mainstream science and for the *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902) in his "science of religions" framework, which allowed him to see each spiritual experience and each religious tradition as a varied expression of the subliminal realm within the depths of human psychology—the objectivity embedded within the subjectivity as he had proposed to Chauncey Wright in the early 1870s. In his essays in "radical empiricism" (from 1904), he placed the conventionally dualist "subject or . . . knower" and "the object known" as features of the same "pure experience," simultaneous and in intimate relation; they "coexist, . . . with no separateness needing to be overcome"—a refinement of what he had observed in 1862 about the discrimination of separate things when "nature only offers *Thing*," and akin to what he had witnessed among sectarian medical practitioners and the ancients. In *Pragmatism* (1907), he acknowledged "the good things on both sides of the line" of philosophical debates between empiricists and rationalists by incorporating both "tough-minded" facts and theories about "tender-minded" experiences, while avoiding the abstractions on either side—similar to the impatience with absolutist claims he was already registering during his education in science and religion. He explained the continuous and contingent qualities of experience with its parts in weblike relation in *A Pluralistic Universe* (1909), in contrast with the familiar human simplifications that emerge when mental representations carve artificially definite answers out of portions of experience; in the same way, since his youth, he had been noticing the teeming and chance-filled



William James's Ledge in the Adirondacks.

Photo by Paul Croce, Shanty, Keene Valley, NY, June 2011.

In 1875, James and three Harvard scientist friends, James Jackson Putnam, Charles Pickering Putnam, and Henry Pickering Bowditch, bought what they called their "Shanty," deep in New York's Adirondacks, where they would spend many summers. For James, the shanty offered a getaway from detailed work and a setting for thinking more deeply about the work of his deepest commitments. One favorite spot where he went to read and write became known as "Wm. James Ledge," and the simple wooden sign still directs hikers to the spot.

dimensions of experience in the making. And he investigated depth psychology and psychical phenomena throughout his career, maintaining a spirit of scientific inquiry by following the leads presented by human experience; he scrutinized these extranatural claims, just as he had been ready since his youth to hear out but evaluate the claims of alternative medicine. Throughout this work, he maintained an active commitment, as he was already insisting in 1875, both to scientific inquiry and to novelties of all kinds, including "great . . . religious promise."[7]

These mature works emerged with variations on James's youthful themes, as he comprehended the objective, physiological, and empirical (with all

their complexities), along with the subjective, volitional, and mysterious (as humans have access), all as parts of abundant experience. The whole array was an opportunity to consider the natural settings, the intimate relations, the similar questions, and even the common underlying sources of these material and immaterial ingredients of life, even as each conventional distinction would operate in different fields, and circulate in people with different social habits, diverging temperaments, and contrasting convictions. Later in life, he chose a metaphor from a literal natural setting to summarize his whole life work: we live in a "trackless forest of human experience," with science, religion, philosophy, and more fruits of human creativity providing "spots, or blazes" to trails through the complexity and mystery. Each approach is potentially valuable, but these trails "leave . . . unexpressed almost everything" in the whole forest. The mysterious whole maintained its allure as the "secret spring of all my poor life's philosophic effort," as he remained persistently interested in the interrelations of the trails. He spoke calmly about the trackless forest toward the end of his career, but early on he was still considering many trails and burdened by doubt: in his young adulthood, he felt ambitions to be a scientist, so he could "go out . . . into the dear old woods and fields" to make discoveries; but in the thick of his scientific education, he developed reflective worries about "the woods in which the young mind grows up."[8] He resolved his dilemmas not by getting out of the woods but by steering through them; and that would involve frank recognition of the whole forest, the whole interconnected range of experiences, even as he contributed to several disciplinary trails. His general posture on mystery, however, serves as his most profound contribution.

Recognition of mystery offers a potent way to reconcile conflicting views, starting with science and religion, and not just based on his deflation of absolutist claims from all sides. In addition, acknowledging the mysterious grandeur of the whole cosmos can appeal to religious and idealist sensibilities; and attention to uncertainty can appeal to scientific skepticism—unknowing is, after all, an ingredient of positivist philosophy and an honest upshot of inductive reasoning, even with accumulation of numerous facts. Still, James welcomed naturalistic inquiries to reduce the mysteries. That scientific impulse has thrived from his teacher Emil du Bois-Reymond's dedication to finding "physical-chemical . . . forces" to explain physiology, to contemporary neuroscientist Antonio Damasio's eagerness to "understand how . . . physical cells . . . develop . . . a conscious mind." James maintained

The Writer's Corner.

Photo by Paul Croce, Shanty, Keene Valley, NY, June 2011.

James's favorite ledge provided a welcoming nook at a crease in the rock with pine needles for a seat and some sturdy pines for footrests. In the summer of 1898, he divided his time between hiking in the dense forests of the Adirondacks and sitting at his ledge, likely the spot where he wrote "Philosophical Conceptions and Practical Results," the lecture in which he offered the first public statement of pragmatism. He used his hiking experiences, including times when he got so severely lost in the woods that he strained his heart, to introduce his listeners to the "trackless forest of human experience" (PRG, 258).

that such scientific banishing of mystery would not always be possible. And when scientific understanding could be achieved, it could be useful, but not for every human purpose; the methods needed to reduce mystery were not even true to the full range of the human mind—and body—because such rational vigor, while powerful, was "but one of a thousand human purposes."[9]

Young James's curiosity about the whole forest motivated his initial steps in science, religion, and philosophy, even as answers often remained elusive. This impulse first emerged in his resolution to strive without expecting results; this involved letting go of certainties about his own future.

His early uncertainties gradually hardened into more confident positions, but he would retain his early hesitations and humble orientations within his mature outlooks in his decisive ambivalence, a confidence about his uncertainties, which facilitated embrace of possibility and flexibility, and enabled readiness to learn from different and even contrasting positions. Not waiting on particular results became an openness to many results, with each angle of vision contributing something to the abundant elusive whole. This openness to diverse views, with emphasis on the uncertainty of any one of them, can appear relativistic, with indifference to any assertion of truth. This critique grows from the conventional view of ideas in contest: uncertainty is at best a way station for the truth and at worst a callow resistance to truth; not accepting confident assertions of truth, from this perspective, means its opposite, no truth at all. This also assumes that inquiry is a fight with a clear winner. James tacitly harbored this conventional assumption in his youth and so, while he looked for a winner, the contrasts remained burdens. But by the end of his youth, he began to regard the contrasts and even the burdens themselves as opportunities. He did not abandon the search for truth, but came to regard it as robust and complex, with no easy winners.

James noticed that uncertainty emerged not only from the absence of truth but also from its abundance, with each perspective offering a piece, but only a piece, of the mysterious whole. As a psychologist, he then turned to the importance of selective attention for sorting through the abundance; as a philosopher, he noticed the key role of judgment in those choices; and he affiliated with his fellow pragmatists in identifying the crucial role for usefulness and practical consequences in those judgments. This appreciation of uncertainties, developing from his youthful impatience with the claims of confident but competing perspectives, would contribute to his reliance on the will as the selective agent for making choices within the abundance. By the time James was launching his career, uncertainties became a way to winnow through diverse competing truth claims by directing attention to their useful parts for different purposes. James preferred to emphasize not how each side fell short, but what each contributed to the elusive whole; this would provide contexts not only for sympathetic listening across the divides but also for development of synthetic alternatives.

Tracing theory to biographical development displays the depths of James's commitment to comprehending the relation of countless dual contrasts in his education from his spiritual father to his scientific training. And he found support for this relational thinking in the probabilistic and empirical think-

ing of his discussion partners, in his hope for less reductive science and his work with materialist research, in his experience of sectarian and scientific medicine, in his attraction to ancient and modern worldviews, and with his balancing of security and struggle in both his personal life and his theoretical commitments. With his eye trained from his youth on the relation of material and immaterial dimensions, James continued to encounter variations on this theme throughout his life work, in science and religion, body and mind, nature and spirit, and objectivity and subjectivity. These contrasting positions were at once vital choices during an often-troubled youth and the raw material for his developing theories. In his own personal experiences and then increasingly in his work, rather than choose sides, James looked for their relations and the lessons each could provide; and thus the problem of their differences became opportunities for deeper understanding.

James's awareness of relations among these contrasts reinforced his view that nondualism involved not just reconciliation of material and immaterial parts of experience but also their simultaneous existence before the need for reconciliation. James observed the life of mind and spirit circulating within nature, expressed in but not reduced to the material. Just as he objected to the reduction of immaterial to material, so also he did not reduce the material to the immaterial; instead, he perceived, they mingle in natural experience. His outlooks have attracted many names. He called his position "panpsychic" for his evaluation of mind within body; he respected pantheist identification of divine and natural, even as his thinking shows more panentheistic traits for his recognition of spiritual forces circulating within nature; and commentators on his mature theories have supplied an array of variations on these themes: John Wild presents James with thought and emotion enfleshed; Eugene Fontinell identifies his "panactivism"; Marcus Ford detects "pansubjectivism"; Eugene Taylor links his religious and psychical studies to his depth psychology; William Barnard observes his view of mind "physically expressed"; David Lamberth evaluates his field view of consciousness and finite picture of the divine; and Bennett Ramsey refers to his "polypsychism."[10] The ideas that would lead to these terminologies were in formation in James's early curiosity about material and immaterial aspects of natural facts that he first learned as a scientist and applied across many disciplines.

As James's career evolved from his first two decades of work in science while scrutinizing its assumptions, he did not so much leave science as carry forward his approach to science into other fields. His "Program of a Future Science," with less certainty and fewer materialist assumptions that

he hoped for in 1864, would become his mature theories, consistently with "face towards experience"—the whole rich, entangled, elusive range of experiences. In 1909 he was still associating his philosophy with "the science of the future." He anticipates Thomas Kuhn's identification of the sources of scientific innovation with a vivid observation that every future science has been "stirred to its conquering activities by the little rebellious exceptions to the science of the present," when at first authoritative figures dismiss these exceptions as "*wild* facts." This approach to inquiry would serve as James's philosophic guide, both personally and in his writings, once he had learned to manage his introspections without feeling troubled by the uncertainties and indecision that such reflection had generated in his youth. In a sense—in his sense of a program for future science—he remained a scientist, keen to examine natural experiences, while nominally joining the guild of philosophers, whose ways of thinking he both craved and distrusted. Following Martin Heidegger, Richard Rorty presented his pragmatism as a way to think about the end of philosophy.[11] James showed no interest in attacking or ending philosophy; he just never fully entered the professional field, even as his ideas were useful for his own direction and for philosophical purposes.

Early and Late James

Despite James's discomfort with philosophy, it remained central to his life, especially for its ability to provide personal orientation. Early on, it was not his training, but his aspiration, and even a burden, shadowing him through scientific and medical training and through humanistic excursions; constant questions meant too many choices and indecision about direction and purpose. By the mid-1870s, however, he began to invert his dilemmas by making the problem multiplicities and uncertainties about his looming reflectiveness themselves the agents for dealing with discouragement. The very diversity of choices allowed him to comprehend the diverse parts of the world, and with enough strength for the struggle, he welcomed the lack of guarantee itself as the ground for genuine choice and for the chance to shape his future directions rather than just waiting and worrying about fate's stern hand. Accepting such uncertainties also gave him a "bitter willingness to do and suffer anything," he declared in 1877, as if to stare down the personal problems of his previous decade. He began to conduct his life based on a will to create order by constructing a path through the pluralism rather than expecting purpose from prior certainty or from definite an-

swers to his troubles. When he turned away from expecting final or absolute answers in science, religion, or any field, he did not dwell in critique of these enterprises or lament the limits of human comprehension; instead, he encouraged engagement in the processes themselves, to promote active uses of the insights we do have and to create still more. His youthful resolution to work toward goals without expecting results would become his mature readiness for "taking life [with a] longer reach of promise," as he was already hoping for at age twenty-eight.[12]

The directions James forged in his youth would become central to his major works. The early thoughts suggest, to paraphrase his description of different postures of consciousness in *The Principles*, the "flights" of his mind in exploration rather than his "perchings" on later settled positions. His early development is particularly important for understanding his thought since his mature settled positions emphasized process and growth. Comprehending James's career with attention to his early thoughts in relation to his mature theories would not have surprised James himself, but it may clash with current disciplinary perspectives. Evaluations of James have generally presented his mature writing as his best work, with assumptions that the passage of years allowed more refinement of theories in contrast with his simpler youthful efforts. However, his early intellectual work also offers ways to understand his commitments in primal form, to witness his framing of broad questions, and to follow his passionate pursuit of questions with ideas unrehearsed and without assuming disciplines. Francesca Bordogna portrays the mature James "transgressing . . . boundaries" for "new configurations of knowledge"; the speculations and commitments of his youth provided initial bridges across the boundaries and the impetus for his later contributions.[13] Before he sought the more authoritative perch of sound philosophical reputation, he took flights of inquiry, fueled with excitement and worries about new experiences, to reconnoiter territories that would become the objects of his philosophical attention, although he of course did not know he would become the James we know. From his focus on natural facts, he would orient toward the puncturing of abstractions grown distant from lived experience; from his exploration of plural worldviews and methods, he would gravitate toward conciliating differences; and from his mingling of material and immaterial aspects of experience, he would lay the seeds for his work in scientific, religious, and related spheres, with his ready turn from one to another, guided by nondualist thinking and a focus on natural facts. The earlier writings are often brief, but they provide succinct and fresh expressions of the messages of his life work.

The thoughts of the young James constitute theory written from sheer passion—with eagerness and fear—for the personal direction that philosophy can provide, in the spirit of Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations*, literally written as notes to himself. For both authors, the very authenticity of the personal search gave the written production the ability to inspire readers. James's early thought, with less "logical etiquette" but more of "the vital heat" of personal searching, had the "aboriginal sensible muchness" generated by deep questions, which his later theories would answer with more elaboration and "conceptual order." These mature refinements surely made his ideas more systematic but also less connected to his original "first-hand . . . experience," as he would describe such "primordial" expressions in general.[14] In addition to their freshness and authenticity, the earlier writings provide depth, not in some comparative sense of better quality, but with the depth of roots that would give orienting direction to later development. They suggest the genotype of his intellectual DNA, and during his development, they provided the choices that would point him toward the later and diverse phenotypes of his mature work. Once he had set his direction with early commitment to natural experiences living beneath conceptual abstractions, he established the order and clarity in his thought for offering increasingly powerful and influential explanations in dialogue with professional and public concerns. There is surely more to add to the story of James's early career and to his ongoing theoretical formulations and ensuing relations with other scientists, philosophers, religious thinkers, and still more figures in his wide cultural circles; any one book is ever not quite compared to the complexities of coverage and the mysteries of the living James himself. With evidence combed from his own experiences, this book's stories and explanations about the young James in development offer prolegomena to his better-known work. The branches of James's corpus would grow from their common roots, and his contributions to diverse fields constitute elaborated chapters of his original commitments.

From his first experiences through the end of his life, William James delighted in "the face of nature" in both mind and body. Natural experiences, the vast array of "different fragments of the world," before any interpretive abstractions, were the basis of his intellectual inquiries in psychology, philosophy, religious studies, and social commentary. And he loved wild nature itself, especially the Adirondacks wilderness of northern New York. At age thirty-two, he first visited there, and in 1875, with three friends, he pur-

chased a "Shanty" in Keene Valley, New York. Among the trees and mountains near his retreat, he engaged in tangible versions of intellectual embrace of uncertainty, "walking and scrambling in the woods," often without any set path. When he married Alice Gibbens in 1878, it was the natural place to go for their honeymoon. He called the Adirondacks "an absolute *sanctuary*," where he could live with free spontaneity and get regenerated in mind and body.[15]

On July 9, 1898, James enjoyed a full day of hiking in the Adirondacks, including to the top of Mount Marcy, the highest peak in New York State. That night, despite his fatigue, he remained in a "wakeful mood." The exhilarations of campfire and night scenes, mingling with almost mystical reflections on family and friends and on the puzzling challenges of his philosophical tasks, kept him sleepless. That did not stop him from taking on an extra-long hike the next day, on trails with "the steepest sort of work." By the end of the day, James "staggered" back to camp, "more fatigued than I had been after any walk." The chest pains that followed were soon diagnosed as angina pectoris, a restriction of the blood flow to the heart from aortic sclerosis, now serious after a few years of minor indications. Despite the health worry, he still found the hike exhilarating, and it did not hold him back from further exertions. Sure enough, when the next summer brought another chance to explore in the Adirondacks, he got lost on a hiking trail, grew so hungry he fainted a few times, and staggered back to his camp site late that night thoroughly exhausted. "This did me no good," he reported with understatement, and now he had to take his health problem more seriously. The exertions and exhaustion aggravated his angina, which did indeed bring death in 1910.[16] But James did not go quietly into this last chapter of his life.

For the next five years after the summer of James's first cardiac injury, persistent "nervous prostration," which he had struggled with since young adulthood, would amplify the burdens of poor physical health. In 1899 he even had to postpone presentation of the Gifford Lectures that would become *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), which he finally delivered in 1901–2. He struggled through those years, feeling grateful just to be "above ground," as he said with deadpan humor. Then with the lectures over, and while enlisting a whole array of mainstream and alternative medical treatments and supplements, he felt a surge of health and vitality. By 1904, he even joked that he was feeling so strong that he was not aware that "I have a heart at all," as he launched on the most productive phase of his career.

A Ledge with a View.

Photo by Paul Croce, Shanty, Keene Valley, NY, June 2011.

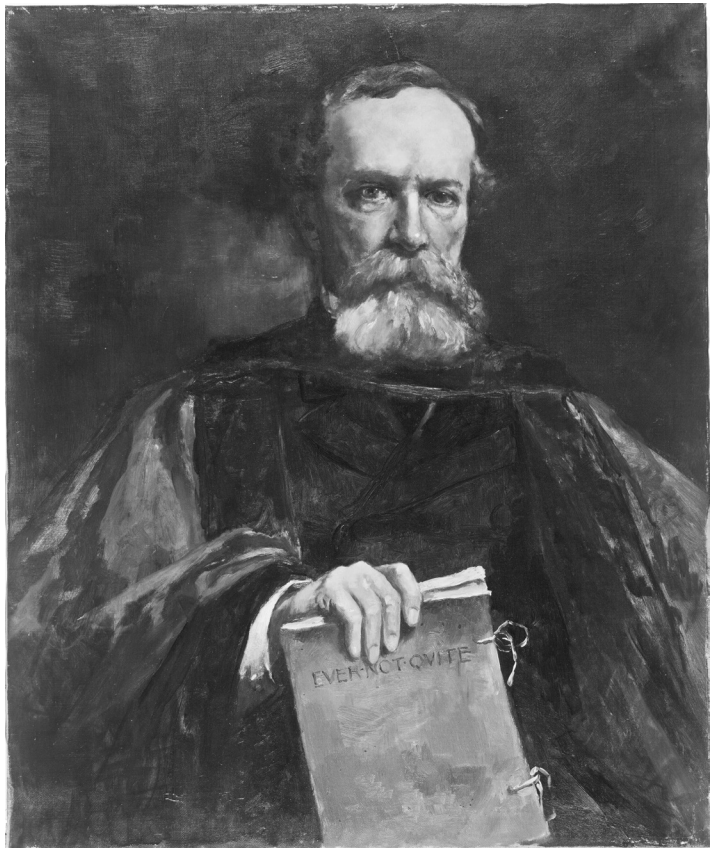
James felt "a curious organic-feeling need" for time in the Adirondacks. The wild natural setting offered a tangible expression of his commitment to natural facts in his philosophy, empirically robust for scientific study but also with complexities worthy of further reflections. Nature had its dangers, as he knew from personal experience, but it also offered stunning beauty, such as the view from his ledge at the shanty.

He felt he had to hurry since, with his health worries, "the rest of life is getting short."[17] He still suffered occasional chest pains from the angina, but as with earlier health problems, he had learned to cope with them.

James's mature intellectual ambition was to explain the relation of parts of our world that seem so sharply contrasting: mind and body, thoughts and things, conceptual thoughts and the diverse particulars of perceptual facts. The works of his last few years on radical empiricism, pragmatism, and pluralism revolve around this issue of potential continuity in experience, as he argued that the relations identified by conjunctions such as "and," "with," "near," or "toward" are as real as the things "nouns and adjectives" point to. This was the stuff of his philosophical ambitions in his last years. And yet his motivation to turn in this intellectual direction had already taken root

years earlier. James had developed his intellectual appetite for understanding contrasts in relation during his young adulthood when he had first experienced profound troubles and labored toward ways to cope. He developed patterns about his constitutional weaknesses and his own "reparative capacities," in response to tensions between religion and science, idealism and empiricism, free will and determinism, and immaterial and material parts of life in general, with his experiences encouraging attention to their interrelation. His portrait painter Sarah Whitman expressed the reach of his mind poetically as James's "tonic humor that keeps the level of the excellent earth—and yet imaginatively discloses the sky."[18] So many disparate parts; such ambitious hopes to explain their relations.

Even in the surge of his final goals, those heights reminded the James of later years about his persistent awareness of human limits first planted by the burdens of his youth. To paraphrase from his psychological evaluation of the "specious present," about the utterly fleeting quality of any one moment, James also maintained that any single theory about the universe would be a virtually specious philosophy—useful, but not the last word—compared to the world of experience: that, more than any formula, he emphasized, is the "really real." James was at once driven to deep reflections and also keenly aware that every philosophical effort was doomed to such limitation. His drive for philosophic inquiry ran deep. Beginning in his young adulthood, when his limitations loomed even larger, he would set out to comprehend the architecture of the world. The breadth of his curiosity took him to a range of views that at first left him confused and ambivalent, but he would become like a judge, weighing claims and reckoning with clashes of contrasting insights. Pursuit of elusiveness was more compelling than ambition. Whitman's 1903 portrait displays James with serious expression and searching eyes clutching a book representing his life work; for its cover, she displayed none of his actual book titles, but one of his favorite phrases that he had been using even in younger years with humility about human abilities, about his own abilities, and about any theoretical comprehensiveness. She reported William James's words, "ever not quite," with traditional and capital spelling to amplify their timeless dignity: EVER NOT QVITE.[19]



Ever Not Quite.

Sarah Whitman, *William James*, 1903, HNA29, Harvard University Portrait Collection, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

Sarah Wyman Whitman was a prominent Boston artist and intellectual. Like James, she studied painting with William Morris Hunt; she designed the stained-glass windows and carpets in many churches; and she was an avid supporter of Phillips Brooks's ecumenical Broad Church movement—as was James, who found in Brooks what he "mean[t] by 'spirituality'" (response to James Pratt Questionnaire, 1904). Whitman knew James's works well, having read many of them in manuscript before publication; in her painting, she provided an artist's distillation of James's central insight.

Abbreviations

CWJ	William James. *The Correspondence of William James*, 12 vols. Edited by Ignas K. Skrupskelis and Elizabeth M. Berkeley, et al. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992–2004.
Eclipse	Paul J. Croce. *Science and Religion in the Era of William James, Volume One: Eclipse of Certainty, 1820–1880*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
ECR	*Essays, Comments, and Reviews*, WWJ, 1987.
EPH	*Essays in Philosophy*, WWJ, 1978.
EPR	*Essays in Psychical Research*, WWJ, 1986.
EPS	*Essays in Psychology*, WWJ, 1983.
EPY	*Essays in Philosophy*, WWJ, 1978.
ERE	*Essays in Radical Empiricism*, WWJ, 1976 [1912].
ERM	*Essays in Religion and Morality*, WWJ, 1982.
LWJ	Henry James III [son of William James], editor. *The Letters of William James*, 2 vols. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1920.
MEN	*Manuscript Essays and Notes*, WWJ, 1988.
ML	*Manuscript Lectures*, WWJ, 1988.
MT	*The Meaning of Truth*, WWJ, 1975 [1909].
PBC	*Psychology: Briefer Course*, WWJ, 1984 [1892].
PPS	*The Principles of Psychology*, WWJ, 3 vols., 1981 [2 vols., 1890]
PRG	*Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking*, WWJ, 1975 [1907].
PU	*A Pluralistic Universe* [Hibbert Lectures on the Present Situation in Philosophy, WWJ, 1908], 1977 [1909].
SPP	*Some Problems of Philosophy*, WWJ, 1979 [1911].
TCJ	Ralph Barton Perry. *The Thought and Character of William James*, 2 vols. Boston: Little, Brown, 1935.
TT	*Talks to Teachers on Psychology, and to Students on Some of Life's Ideals*, WWJ, 1983 [1899].
VRE	*The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* [Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion, 1901–2], WWJ, 1985 [1902].

WB *The Will to Believe and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy*, WWJ, 1979 [1897].

WWJ *The Works of William James*. 19 vols. Edited by Frederick H. Burkhardt, Fredson Bowers, and Ignas K. Skrupskelis. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975–88.

Introduction • Almost a Philosopher

Epigraph. "The Sentiment of Rationality," EPH, 55, 56.

1. James to Catherine Havens, Aug[ust] 29, [18]68, CWJ, 4:334–35.

2. James to his parents, May 27, [18]67; to Henry James, Senior, Oct[ober] 5, [18]68; and to Catherine Walsh, Sept[ember] 13, [1868], CWJ, 4:161, 342, 336.

3. William James to Henry James, Senior, Oct[ober] 5, [18]68; to Thomas Ward, Oct[ober] 9, [1868]; to Henry Bowditch, Sept[ember 20, 18]68; Bowditch to James, Sept[ember 18], [1868]; and to Catherine Havens, Aug[ust] 29, [18]68, CWJ, 341, 346, 339, 337, 347, 334; and "Entertaining Women at the Water Cure," 1868, William James papers, bMS Am 1092.2 (28).

4. WB, 5; ERE, 100, also see 74, 4, 69; and PPS, 234.

5. "The Sentiment of Rationality" (1879), EPH, 55.

6. Henry James, Senior, to Edmund and Mary Tweedy, [c. Spring 1855], TCJ, 1:181; Habegger, *The Father*, 179; Henry James, Senior, *Literary Remains*, 178; and Henry James, Senior, *Christianity the Logic of Creation*, 182n.

7. Henry James, Junior, *Autobiography*, 68; William James to Alice Gibbens James, Dec[ember] 20, [1882], CWJ, 5:342; *Eclipse*, 39–48, 62–65.

8. Habegger, *The Father*, 377; Henry James, Senior, to Edmund Tweedy, July 18, [1860], TCJ, 1:191; and William James to George Howison, July 17, 1895; and to Edgar Van Winkle, March 1, 1858, CWJ, 8:57, 4:14.

9. [Diary 1], April 10, [1873], [83, 88]; also see TCJ, 1:343. James continued to picture himself drawn to compelling but challenging settings as a "moth into flame"; James to Francis Boott, Aug[ust] 9, 1900; and to Sarah Whitman, Dec[ember] 7, 1902, CWJ, 9:264, 10:163.

10. James, [Notebook 3], [2] and 59; SPP, 33; to Thomas Ward, March [18]69, CWJ, 4:370–71; PU, 62; and to Alice James, Oct[ober] 29, [1873], CWJ, 4:450.

11. Santayana, *Character and Opinion*, 92; Bakewell, "The Philosophy of George Herbert Palmer," 9; [Diary 1], April 10, [1873], [87]; James to George Holmes Howison, July 17, 1895; and to Alice Gibbens James, Aug[ust] 11, 1898, CWJ, 8:57, 408; and Seth, "Review of James, *A Pluralistic Universe*," 539, 536.

12. "The Sentiment of Rationality," EPH, 63; SPP, 29; Peirce, "Fixation of Belief," in *Writings*, 3:247.

13. William James to William James, Junior, June 28, 1908, CWJ, 12:37; PRG, 9; [Diary 1], April 10, [1873]; and James to Thomas Ward, March [18]69, CWJ, 4:371. Robert Richardson, in *William James*, artfully shows his kinship with Emerson, in accounts that fill out John McDermott's insight that Emerson was James's "master"; introduction to ERM, xxii.

14. William James to Augustus Lowell, May 19, 1878, CWJ, 5:12.

15. William James to Alice Howe Gibbens, June 7, [18]77, CWJ, 5:12, 4:571; *Eclipse*, 95–96, 195–98; Armstrong, *The Case for God*; and Peirce, "The Doctrine of Necessity

Examined" (1892), "The Law of Mind" (1892), and "Man's Glassy Essence" (1892), *Collected Papers*, 6:28–65, 6:102–163, 6:238–271; PU, 153; PRG, 135.

16. LWJ 1:29, 292; William to Henry James, Junior, Ap[ri]l 5, [18]68; and to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, Sept[ember] 17, [18]67, CWJ, 1:45, 4:199; Du Bois, *Autobiography*, 90; "The Sentiment of Rationality," EPY, 32–33. On James's social thought including his turn toward more forceful defiance of injustices, see Coon, "'One Moment in the World's Salvation'"; Cotkin, *William James, Public Philosopher*, 95–151; and Barker, *William James, Sciences of Mind, and Anti-Imperialist Discourse*, 294. Eddie Glaude, in *A Shade of Blue*, draws upon pragmatism, especially as rendered by Cornel West, for responding to the "risk-ridden future" in striving for social progress. The classic pragmatists took some steps to challenge racism, even as they missed opportunities for more, but they also have provided a framework built on awareness of both tragedy and hope for understanding the American possibilities for improved race relations to be deliberately if contingently achieved despite the nation's past "butchering of precious ideals," as Glaude, *In a Shade of Blue*, says, paraphrasing James (34, 46); West, "Pragmatism and the Sense of the Tragic," in *Keeping Faith*, 113. Also see Ross Posnock, "The Influence of William James," 322–42, in Ruth Anna Putnam, *The Cambridge Companion to William James*, especially on James and the cultural pluralism of Horace Kallen and Alain Locke; Schrager, "Both Sides of the Veil," on James's challenge to the "paradigm of nineteenth-century scientific progress that [was] also . . . an intrinsic part of the transnational history of gender and racial domination" (555); and Rath whose "Echo and Narcissus: The Afrocentric Pragmatism of W. E. B. Du Bois" identifies the spur for the African American civil rights pioneer in his approach to the "agency" of souls (which James's research in depth psychology provided), along with African philosophy, in Du Bois's *Souls of Black Folks*, which in turn James praised empathetically for being a work "as mournful as it is remarkable" (Rath, 476, 482, 487–88; CWJ, 10:261). Also see chapter 1, notes 48–49, and chapter 4, note 21.

17. William James to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, Sept[ember] 17, [18]67; and to Henry Bowditch, Aug[ust] 12, [18]69, CWJ, 4:199, 385; [Notebook 2], 1862, 22; "The Hidden Self" (1890), EPS, 248–49; and PRG, 60–61, 137, 299. Habegger, *Henry James and the "Woman Business,"* argues that James adopted the sexist views of his father, while Judith Butler, in "Encountering the Smashing Projectile," in Halliwell and Rasmussen, *William James and the Transatlantic Conversation*, identifies James's actions as following conservative Bushnell even as his ideas show endorsement for reformer Mill. Livingston, "Hamlet, James, and the Woman Question," suggests that James's views of women reinforced the antiabsolutist character of his mature theories; and Sullivan, *Living Across and Through Skins*, sees pragmatism's "boundary crossing to disrupt rigid compartmentalization" as a resource for feminist thinking (7). Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*, offers the most comprehensive evaluation of James in relation to gender: she both recognizes the depths of his misogyny and portrays his theories as doors he opened for challenges to hierarchy; in particular, his openness to spiritual and other alternative theories serve as a "Feminine-Mystical Threat to Masculine-Scientific Order," as she argues with use of his own words (Tarver and Sullivan, *William James and Feminism*, chap. 1, from Seigfried, *Pragmatism and Feminism*, quoting James, EPS, 248–49). Seigfried concludes that James's

moral failings were those of his society and his times, and yet she urges readers of his works to remain aware that gender assumptions permeated his mind and his works. As a result, James's comments and behaviors contained at once crude artifacts of nineteenth-century assumptions (which, in her rendering, even he could not avoid), along with his "rebellious exceptions" to the norms around him. He could not know the theories and practices of the twenty-first century, but in always welcoming "the science of the future," he would likely also welcome the contemporary embrace of difference, just as his ideas will surely also be of service to the theories and practices of our future (EPR, 375). Also see Cynthia Schrager, "Pauline Hopkins and William James," in Gruesser, *The Unruly Voice*, who argues that James's theories provide a "legitimate epistemological domain" for reclaiming the "discredited knowledge" that can be found in "Western science's racial and sexual Other" (200–201); Tarver, "Particulars, Practices, and Pragmatic Feminism," who argues that James's psychology of habit formation, the pluralism of experience, and pragmatic attention to consequences can be of great use for feminism; and other essays in Tarver and Sullivan, *William James and Feminism*, especially chap. 3 by Erin McKenna, "Women and William James," who critiques his stereotyped perceptions and his often flirtatious relations with women outside his marriage. Also see chapter 1, note 32, and chapter 4, notes 34–36.

18. James to Thomas Ward, March [18]69, CWJ, 4:370; see James Moore, *The Post-Darwinian Controversies*; Lindberg and Numbers, *God and Nature*; *Eclipse*, 88–99, 106–10; and Paul Croce, "Beyond the Warfare of Science and Religion."

19. Henry James, Senior, *Christianity the Logic of Creation*, 191; Spinoza, *Ethics*, part III, prop. 7–8; Swedenborg, *Angelic Wisdom concerning Divine Love and Wisdom*, para. 219; Damasio, *Looking for Spinoza*, 131–32, 36; and *Self Comes to Mind*, 5; Johnson, *The Meaning of the Body*; Shusterman, *Body Consciousness*; ERE, 74, 1; and PRG, 14. The elder James endorsed Swedenborg's belief that the "living conatus in man . . . ha[s] no power except through forces of the body" (*Divine Love and Wisdom*, para. 210); also see Paul Croce, "The Incarnation Writ Large," 285, and my conclusion, note 10. William James still offers insights that can enrich the nondualist persuasion: his mingling of material and immaterial realms includes a place for religious views, especially through his presentation of the subliminal doorway to extranatural possibilities, while Johnson focuses on "transformative activity" of the body-mind that is "entirely human in every respect" (Johnson, *Morality for Humans*, xii; also see 86); and James perceives the simultaneous existence of body and mind prior to conceptual understanding of their separation and he would support Shusterman's amplifications of his therapeutic views of habit formation into "practical ways of deploying . . . heightened awareness" (Shusterman, *Body Consciousness*, 165).

20. For an overview of scholarship on James, showing the impact of widespread admiration, see Paul Croce, "Reaching beyond Uncle William." When forecasting work "Beyond William James," James Dittes notes that "James was the first to go 'beyond William James' " (298). On James's psychology of attention and the mind's selective disregard of parts of experience, see PPS, 273–74, 380–433. Bjork, *William James: The Center of His Vision*, argues explicitly that James's integration of fields is beyond explanation based on a theme about his sheer personal genius. Levinson, *The Religious Investigations of William James*, offers an epilogue in the form of an

annotated bibliography summarizing a few major interpretations of James's ideas, especially in religion. *Eclipse*, 234, n. 2, itemizes scholarship in biography and cultural context, and for more recent work, see Joshua Miller, *Democratic Temperament*; Coon, "'One Moment in the World's Salvation'"; Kloppenberg, "Pragmatism"; Leary, "James and the Art of Human Understanding"; Townsend, *Manhood at Harvard*; Simon, *Genuine Reality*; Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*; Jim Garrison et al., *William James and Education*; Machado, *Brazil through the Eyes of William James*; Talisse, *A Pragmatist Philosophy of Democracy*; Joan Richardson, *A Natural History of Pragmatism*; Sklansky, *The Soul's Economy*; Bordogna, *William James at the Boundaries*; Robert Richardson, *William James*; Sutton, "Re-writing the Laws of Health," Throntveit, *William James and the Quest for an Ethical Republic*; Halliwell and Rasmussen, *William James and the Transatlantic Conversation*, part I: "Intellectual Contexts"; Alexander Livingston, *Damn Great Empires!*; and Baker, *William James, Sciences of Mind, and Anti-Imperial Discourse*. For works of theory, see the next note.

21. Orvell, *The Real Thing*, xx; "Ph.D. Octopus" (1903), ECR, 70. In addition to biographical and historical treatments of James (see previous note), there has been even more work in rigorous analyses of James's theoretical contributions, understood with different emphases; see *Eclipse*, 233–34, n. 1. Several scholars pursue aspects of James's philosophizing on the relation of mind and body to suggest his concern, tacitly or explicitly, with humanity's spiritual and psychological depths, through his radical empiricism, panpsychism, kinship to indigenous contexts, and anticipations of subsequent philosophies including phenomenology, process thinking, and somaesthetics. See Linschoten, *On the Way toward a Phenomenological Psychology*; Eugene Taylor and Wozniak, *Pure Experience*; Pratt, *Native Pragmatism*; Wilshire, *Primal Roots*; Talisse and Hester, *On James*; Goodman, *Wittgenstein and William James*; Donald Crosby, *The Philosophy of William James*; Johnson, *The Meaning of the Body*; and Shusterman, *Body Consciousness*. However, there are other rich veins of scholarship offering innovative interpretations of James for his formulation of theories in philosophy and psychology with minimal attention to his religious and alternative leanings, including TCJ; Thayer, *Meaning and Action*; Bird, *William James*; Gerald Myers, *William James*; Sprigge, *James and Bradley*; Hilary Putnam, *Pragmatism: An Open Question*; Gale, *The Divided Self of William James*; Cormier, *The Truth Is What Works*; Cooper, *The Unity of William James's Thought*; and many of the essays in Corti, *The Philosophy of William James*; Donnelly, *Reinterpreting the Legacy of William James*; and Ruth Anna Putnam, *The Cambridge Companion to William James*. For example, in his chapter on "Religion," Myers notes that James in *The Varieties* depicts the "anti-naturalistic . . . consciousness" of spiritual experience, but then Myers remains puzzled that "he never explained how it connects with the naturalistic thrust of [his] theory . . . of emotions" (467), without considering James's intent to mingle the material and immaterial dimensions of human experience; and these intentions on James's part also appear in his affiliations with panpsychism, but Myers presents his comments on elements of mind circulating within the natural world as evidence of his indecision or uncertainty (612–13). Meanwhile, religious studies scholars and some philosophers are comfortable in nonempirical terrain and have offered rich evaluation of James's religious beliefs, philosophy of religion, and the evolution of his religious thought, with contributions to panentheism, spirituality, and depth consciousness

with little attention to his education in science. See Capps and Jacobs, *The Struggle for Life*; Oliver, *William James's "Springs of Delight"*; Hamner, *American Pragmatism*; Barnard, *Exploring Unseen Worlds*; Sprigge, *James and Bradley*; Eugene Taylor, *William James on Exceptional Mental States* and *William James on Consciousness*; Charles Taylor, *Varieties of Religion Today*; Bridgers, *Contemporary Varieties of Religious Experience*; Hunter Brown, *William James on Radical Empiricism and Religion*; Blum, *Ghost Hunters*; Lamberth, *William James and the Metaphysics of Experience*; Suckiel, *Heaven's Champion*; Proudfoot, *William James and a Science of Religions*; Carrette, *William James's Hidden Religious Imagination*; and essays in Halliwell and Rasmussen, *William James and the Transatlantic Conversation*, part II: "Philosophy of Pluralism," especially David Lamberth, "*A Pluralistic Universe* a Century Later"; and Sami Pihlström, "Jamesian Pragmatic Pluralism." James in his own contexts worked across fields or without them; see Paul Croce, "Presidential Address: The Non-disciplinary William James." Carrette, in *William James's Hidden Religious Imagination*, is also interested in evaluating James across disciplines for a depiction of his relational thinking, in particular for understanding James's place in contemporary religious studies, especially "post-structuralist . . . discussions about religion today"; and while Carrette calls for attention to James's "personal papers" to understand the "slow unfolding of [his] ideas," and urges rooting James's "metaphysical passion . . . in the history of nineteenth-century science," his focus is on the mature James after his scientific education in the 1860s and 1870s (5, 30, 10, 26, 8).

22. Erikson, *Young Man Luther*, 18–20; Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, 24–27; and James, "Reflex Action and Theism," WB, 94; and see Paul Croce, "Development Biography."

23. PPS, 126; Sönderqvist, "Existential Projects and Existential Choices," Shortland and Yeo, *Telling Lives in Science*, 47, 65, 53, 66; the recent *Works of William James* (WWJ), with excellent introductory essays and masterful editorial material, but few texts (especially few private writings) before 1878, has reinforced the emphasis on James's mature theories and has tacitly supported the conventional wisdom that his youth was a time of troubles with little substantial thought.

24. Daniel Garber evaluates different methods for combining history (and biography) and philosophy (and theory in general): philosophers generally use history, if at all, to look for "philosophical illumination," with contextual work as steps that offer minimal "help in discovering philosophical truth," and so the historical contexts are ultimately "marginal" or even "expendable." Although historians put less emphasis on "ultimate truth," their work illuminates how "smart people could have regarded [their theories] as true." These goals shape methods: philosophers focus on mature published theories, regarding them as the theorists' "best thoughts" in "rehearsed conversations," while tacitly or overtly neglecting the earlier contexts and texts written before or on the path toward these polished versions of their thought. Garber maintains "we . . . can learn from both"; "Does History Have a Future?," in Hare, *Doing Philosophy Historically*, 15, 27, 31, 36, 33, 37, 35, 42; and see Galenson, *Old Masters and Young Geniuses*.

25. [Diary 4]; "The Teaching of Philosophy in Our Colleges" (1876), EPY, 4; Bjork, *William James*, 248; Robert Richardson, *William James*, 464; and Charles Taylor, *Varieties of Religion Today*, 59.

Chapter 1 • First Embrace of Science

Epigraph. James, review of Thomas Huxley, *Lectures on the Elements of Comparative Anatomy*, in ECR, 202.

1. Habegger, *The Father*, 439; Greenslet, *The Lowells and Their Seven Worlds*, 289; Caroline Tappan to Henry Lee Higginson, May 7, 1863, Higginson, *Letters*, 192. Paul Croce, "Calming the Screaming Eagle," especially 5–6, reviews evaluations of James and the Civil War; and on Northern enlistment and the evolution of war aims toward emancipation, see Geary, *We Need Men: The Union Draft in the Civil War*; and McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 308–38, 350–68, 505–60.

2. Edel, *Henry James*, 1:172, 171; Henry James, Senior, "The Social Significance of Our Institutions," 251, 248; and Henry James, Senior, *Lectures and Miscellanies*, 69.

3. Henry James, Senior, "The Social Significance of Our Institutions," 252, 251.

4. [Notebook 3], 21; Habegger, *The Father*, 437; Act of the Confederate Congress, May 1, 1863, quoted in Emilio, *A Brave Black Regiment*, 7; Maher, *Biography of Broken Fortunes*, 45, 49; Garth Wilkinson James, "Story of the War," 16; and Anonymous, "A Graphic Story," 4.

5. Anonymous, "Garth Wilkinson James"; Maher, *Biography of Broken Fortunes*, 53; William James, drawing of "Garth Wilkinson James's Return to Charleston Harbor," 1865, William James papers; Henry James, Senior, "Social Significance," 234, 236; James, [Notebook 3], 22; and "Robert Gould Shaw" (1897), and "The Moral Equivalent of War," ERM, 72, 73, 162–73.

6. Henry James, Senior, to Edmund Tweedy (his cousin), July 18 [1860], TCJ, 1:192; Henry James, Senior, "Social Significance of Our Institutions," 245.

7. Henry James, Senior, to Edmund Tweedy, July 18 [1860], TCJ, 1:191; Review of Lewes, 1875, ECR, 307; James to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, May 15, 1868; and to Edgar Van Winkle, March 1, 1858, CWJ, 4:14.

8. James to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, May 15, 1868, CWJ, 4:302; Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University*. These paragraphs also make use of Paul Croce, "From History of Science to Intellectual History"; and *Eclipse*, 6–10, 83–148.

9. See, for example, Numbers, *The Creationists*; Dembski and Kushiner, *Signs of Intelligence*; Shermer, *Why Darwin Matters*; Paul Croce, "Creationism / Creation Science"; Russell, Stoeger, and Coyne, *Physics, Philosophy and Theology*; and Sarna, *Understanding Genesis*.

10. Dawkins, *The God Delusion*; Gray, *Darwiniana*; and Gould, *Rock of Ages*.

11. For typologies of the relations between science and religion, see Barbour, *Religion in an Age of Science*; Haught, *Science and Religion*; Paul Croce, "The Incarnation Writ Large," for discussion of the way these typologies operated in the nineteenth century (especially 280–84); for numerous examples, see *Eclipse*, 106–8; and on the persistent hope for unity of knowledge, see Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University*.

12. "The Sentiment of Rationality," EPH, 53; introduction to *Literary Remains*, ERM, 60–63; "Panpsychism," MEN, 179; VRE, 404–5, 413–14; and PU, 16–17, 22–23, 70–72, 140–42. Also see Skrbina, *Panpsychism in the West*; Zweig, "Karl Christian Friedrich Krause" (the romantic-era German who developed the term *panentheism*); Peacocke, *Theology for a Scientific Age*; and Peterson, "Whither Panentheism?"

13. William to Henry James, Junior, April 13, [18]68, CWJ, 1:48; "Notes for The Philosophy of Evolution" (1879–85), ML, 146–77; "Remarks on Spencer's Definition of Mind" (1878), EPH, 7–22; "Renan's Dialogues" (1876), ECR, 329; Comte, *Cours de philosophie positive*, and Comte, *Introduction to Positive Philosophy*; and Mill, *Auguste Comte and Positivism*. Also see Harp, *The Positivist Republic*, especially chaps. 1–2; Pickering, *Auguste Comte*; Michael Taylor, *The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer*; Frank Turner, "Victorian Scientific Naturalism," in *Between Science and Religion*; Cashdollar, *The Transformation of Theology*; and Hollinger, *Science, Jews, and Secular Culture*.

14. Clifford, c. 1868, quoted in Frederick Pollack, introduction to Clifford, *Lectures and Essays*, 9; Spencer, *First Principles*, 30, 33, 60 (part I, sects. 4, 5, 14); Boring, *A History of Experimental Psychology*, 236, 333, 665; Danziger, *Constructing the Subject*, 38–41; Roger Smith, *Inhibition*, 69, 123; Frank Turner, *Between Science and Religion*; James Turner, *Without God, Without Creed*; and Lightman, *Evolutionary Naturalism in Victorian Britain*.

15. "Religious Guarantee" (1875), MEN, 296; "Reflex Action and Theism" (1881, 1897), WB, 105; and ERE, 106, 262. On James and liberal religion, see Kittelstrom, "Too Hidebound" and *The Religion of Democracy*.

16. Lockridge, *The Diary, and Life, of William Byrd*; Brainerd, *Life and Diary*; Alcott, *Journals*, 6, 15, 19, 8; Emerson (c. 1834), *Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks*, 250; and Bordelon, foreword to *Go Gator*, x. Also see Habermas on "The Public Sphere."

17. William James to his family, September 16, 1861; December 25 [1861], CWJ, 4:43, 63–64; [Notebook 1], 1859, 61; Stephen, "Spirit-Rapping," in *Essays*, 233, 232; and WB, 33.

18. William James to Katharine Temple Emmet, [November 1861]; and to Alice James, October 19, 1862, CWJ, 4:50, 79; and *Eclipse*, 134–38.

19. [Notebook 2], [1].

20. B. Osgood Peirce, "Biographical Memoir of Joseph Lovering," 333; Hale, "Joseph Lovering," 442–43; and two anonymous encyclopedia entries, "Joseph Lovering."

21. James, [Notebook 3], 1863, [3]; Fletcher, "Francis Bacon's Forms and the Logic of Ramist Conversion"; *Eclipse*, 51, 76; Gladstone, *Michael Faraday*; and Agassi, *Faraday as a Natural Philosopher*.

22. Charles Eliot, quoted in LWJ, 1:31–32; William James to Thomas Sergeant Perry, December 23, 1861, CWJ, 4:61.

23. William James to his family, [November 10, 1861], CWJ, 4:52; Eliot, quoted in LWJ, 1:32; and [Notebook 3], 61.

24. Eliot, quoted in TCJ, 1:207; James, review of Barnard, 1868, ECR, 222.

25. Eliot, quoted in TCJ, 1:207; [Notebook 2], 1; PPS, 273–78, 462; Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*, 279; and Bordogna, *William James at the Boundaries*, 140–41.

26. [Notebook 2], 20; PRG, 30, 28–29, 32, 41; *Eclipse*, 177–97.

27. William James, [Notebook 2], 1862, 20; Paul Croce, "From History of Science to Intellectual History"; and *Eclipse*, 6–10, 191–207. For examples evaluating the Metaphysical Club's attention to the compromise of religion and science, see Kuklick, *The Rise of American Philosophy*, and Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*.

28. [Notebook 2], 20; William to Alice James, Nov[ember] 19, [18]67, CWJ, 4:228; [Notes on Kant], n.d. ("probably 60's or early 70's" according to his son Henry James III); Murphey, "Kant's Children," and *The Development of Peirce's Philosophy*; and Thayer, *Meaning and Action*, 33–55, 136–41, 349–52, 371–75.

29. [Notebook 2], 20; [Diary 1], April 30, 1870, [82]; "Sentiment of Rationality," WB, 79; and Kuklick, *The Rise of American Philosophy*, 162.

30. [Notebook 2], 21; Buber, *I and Thou*; Horwitz, *Buber's Way to "I and Thou,"* 30–34, 155–60; Buber, "History of the Dialogic Principle" Friedman, *Martin Buber on God and Man in Relation*; James, introduction to *Literary Remains* (1884), ERM, 3–63; Murphey, *The Development of Peirce's Philosophy*, 49; Freeman, *Categories of Peirce*; and Esposito, *Evolutionary Metaphysics*, 46–121.

31. [Notebook 2], 21; PRG, 83; "Habit" and "Necessary Truths and the Effects of Experience," PPS, 109–31, 1215–80.

32. James, [Notebook 2], 1862, 22; "The Hidden Self" (1890), EPS, 248–49; and Schor, *Reading in Detail*. Also see my introduction, note 17, and chapter 4, notes 34–36.

33. William James to his family, [November 10, 1861]; and to Katharine James Prince, September 12, 1863, CWJ, 4:52, 81; and *Eclipse*, 139–43, 112–24.

34. William James to Katharine James Prince, September 12, 1863, CWJ, 4:81; Robert Richardson, *William James*, 57.

35. William James to Mary Robertson Walsh James, [November 2, 1863], CWJ, 4:86; Crashaw, "Wishes. To his (supposed) Mistresse" (1646), *The Complete Poems*, 479, 481.

36. William James to Katharine James Prince, September 12, [1863], CWJ, 4:81; Habegger, *The Father*, 361; and Lewis, *The Jameses*, 170.

37. William to Mary James, [November 2, 1863]; and to Katharine James Prince, December 13, [1863]; September 12, 1863, CWJ, 4:86, 87, 81–82, 81; and Winslow, *On Obscure Diseases of the Brain*, 39, 143, 144, 276–77.

38. William to Mary Walsh James, [November 2, 1863]; and to Jeannette Barber Gourlay, February 21, 1864, CWJ, 4:86, 90; Whorton, *Nature Cures*, 7; and Warner, "'The Nature-Trusting Heresy.'"

39. William James to his mother, [November 2, 1863], CWJ, 4:85; Kelley, *The Early Development of Henry James*, 21; Edel, *Henry James*, 1:203; and *Eclipse*, 112, 144.

40. William James to his mother, [November 2, 1863]; to his parents, October 21, 1865; and to his mother, August 23–25, [1865], CWJ, 4:86, 127, 111. Among descriptions of the trip, there has been relatively little attention to its importance for James's scientific education; see Carleton Smith, "William James in Brazil"; Allen, *William James*, 102–16; Barzun, *A Stroll with William James*, 13–16; Feinstein, *Becoming William James*, 169–81; Cotkin, *William James*, 29–39; Simon, *Genuine Reality*, 92–96; Irmscher, *The Poetics of Natural History*, 236–81; Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 117–48; Machado, *Brazil through the Eyes of William James*; and Robert Richardson, *William James*, 64–74.

41. William James to his mother, August 23, [1865]; and to his father, September 12[–17], 1865, CWJ, 4:111, 122; "Louis Agassiz" (1896), ECR, 49, 50; "A Month on the Solimoens," MEN, 355; "The Sentiment of Rationality" (1879), EPH, 55; WB; and *Eclipse*, 119.

42. Agassiz and Agassiz, *A Journey to Brazil*, vi–viii; *Eclipse*, 116; Burdett, "Notes in Philosophy 5," 117; Wallace, *Narrative of Travels on the Amazon*; Smith, *Explorers of the Amazon*; and Carrie R. Barratt, "Mapping the Venues," and Kevin J. Avery, "Selling the Sublime," both in Voorsanger and Howatt, *Art and the Empire City*, 47–81, 130–33.

43. William James, "A Month on the Solimoens," 1865, MEN, 354. Agassiz had made earlier unsuccessful attempts to persuade the U.S. Navy to fund an Amazon exploring expedition; see Manthorne, *Tropical Renaissance*, 7, 67, 115, 60. He had first made his scientific reputation with evaluation of the fish of Brazil collected by the exploring party of Johann Baptist Von Spix and Karl Friedrich Philipp Von Martius in 1819–20. James's father and his Aunt Kate paid his expenses for the trip; William sometimes felt guilty that the trip was "a pretty expensive one"; William to Henry James, Senior, June 3, [18]65, CWJ, 4:106. Also see Lewis, *The Jameses*, 174.

44. Manthorne, *Tropical Renaissance*, 119–21; Irmscher, *The Poetics of Natural History*, 252. Visiting the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876, Dom Pedro II continued his interest in science and business enterprise; also see Carleton Smith, "William James in Brazil," 99–109; and Manthorne, *Tropical Renaissance*, 39–60.

45. Agassiz and Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil*, 340; William James to his parents, April 21 [1865]; to Henry James, Junior, May 3, 1865; and to Thomas Ward, CWJ, 4:101–3, 1:8, 4:404; Henry James, Senior, [notes on evolution], James Family papers, bMS Am 1094.8, item 77; Duban, "Charles Darwin"; Lurie, *Louis Agassiz*, 354; and Marcou, *Life, Letters, and Works of Louis Agassiz*, 2:154.

46. James, [Diary 1], May 27, [1868], 56; "Great Men and Their Environment," WB, 170; Irmscher, *The Poetics of Natural History*, 280; and "Louis Agassiz," ECR, 49.

47. James, "A Month on the Solimoens," MEN, 357; Darwin, *The Expression of Emotions*; Beard, quoted in Fullinwider, "James's Spiritual Crisis," 46; Jackson, "Factors of Insanity," in *Selected Writings*, 412–21; Laycock, *Mind and Brain*; Spencer, *Principles of Biology*; and Roger Smith, *Inhibition*, 40–49. James explored the boundary between "Brute and Human Intellect" in 1878, EPS, 1–37.

48. James, [Notebook 4], [8], 11, 12–13; and ECR, 217 and 221. Portions of this Brazilian diary quoted in Irmscher, *The Poetics of Natural History*, 261–80; full text and more photos of Agassiz's racial categorizing in Machado, *Brazil through the Eyes of James*. For more on James and race relations, see my introduction, note 16, and chapter 4, note 32.

49. James, [Notebook 4], 12–13, 20; "A Month on the Solimoens," MEN, 355; and Agassiz and Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil*, 292–93, 224, 236. Louis and Elizabeth Agassiz included James's drawing of Alexandrina in *A Journey to Brazil*; Irmscher, *The Poetics of Natural History*, 269–72; Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 101–16, 129–240; Machado, *Brazil through the Eyes of William James*, 45–48; and Pratt, *Native Pragmatism*.

50. William to Henry James, Senior, June 3, [18]65; July 8, [1865], CWJ, 4:107, 106, 105, 110, 106.

51. William to Henry James, Senior, June 3, [18]65; William James to Edgar Van Winkle, May 26, 1858; and William to Henry James, Junior, May 3, 1865, CWJ, 4:107, 16, 107, 108; and 1:8.

52. William to his father, June 3, 1865, CWJ, 4:107, 106; Manthorne, *Tropical Renaissance*, 118.

53. William James, [Notebook 4], 7; to his parents, [September 1865], CWJ, 4:124; "A Month on the Solimoens," MEN, 356, 354; and to his parents, October 21, [1865], CWJ, 4:128.

54. William to Henry James, Junior, July 15, [1865]; and to his mother, July 6, [1865], CWJ: 1:9, 10, and 4:109; [Notebook 4], 7; Manthorne, *Tropical Renaissance*, 10–14, 67–89; Bedell, *The Anatomy of Nature*, 119–20; and Novak, *Nature and Culture*, 47–77.

55. [Notebook 4], 15; William to Henry James, Junior, Oct[ober 10, 18]72, CWJ, 1:173. Daniel Bjork offers exuberant and thought-provoking suggestions about the importance of Brazil's natural beauty for James's later psychology, in *William James*, 65–66, and *The Compromised Scientist*, 25. Also, David Leary's "William James and the Art of Human Understanding" and "The Influence of Literature in the Life and Work of William James" expand on the artistic qualities of James's thinking; and on the aesthetic significance of James's philosophy and artists' use of his pragmatism, see Novak, *Voyages of the Self*, 77–101. In a similar vein, Barbara Loerzer, in "James, the French Tradition, and the Incomplete Transposition of the Spiritual into the Aesthetic," offers concrete explanations about the aesthetics of James's style, namely his "metaphorical use of language and his interest in vagueness," and of his philosophy, such as his claim in radical empiricism that "relations must be experienced," which are "only fully intelligible in terms of [his] aesthetical-spiritual framework"; her focus is on his visits to museums in the 1860s; Halliwell and Rasmussen, *James and the Transatlantic Conversation*, 70, 75. Also see chapter 3, on James's museum reflections.

56. William to Henry James, Junior, May 3, 1865; July 15, [1865], CWJ, 1:7, 9–10; "On a Certain Blindness in Human Beings," TT, 147; and PRG, 139–40.

57. William to his father, June 3, 1865; to Henry James, Junior, July 23, 1865; and to his mother, December 9, 1865, CWJ, 4:107, 1:11, 4:132.

58. William James to Tom Ward, March 27, [18]66, CWJ, 4:137.

59. William James to Tom Ward, March 27, [18]66; June 8, [18]66, CWJ, 4:138, 139.

60. William James to Charles Eliot Norton, Sept[ember] 3, 1864; Nov[ember] 17, [1864], CWJ, 4:93, 94.

61. William James to Charles Eliot Norton, Sept[ember] 3, 1864, CWJ, 4:93; James, review of Huxley (1865), ECR, 197; and on his ability to write in different writing styles, see Robert Richardson, *William James*, 360, 511–12.

62. James, review of Huxley, ECR, 198, 199; PRG, 13.

63. James, review of Huxley, ECR, 197, 198, 205.

64. Ibid., 202, 197, 202, 203; Huxley, *Methods and Results*, 164.

65. William James to Charles Eliot Norton, November 14 [1864]; December 9 [1864], CWJ, 4:93–94, 95; also in ECR, 691. The editors of *The Correspondence* observe that in the review "there is much about developments in biological science not obviously related to Huxley's book," adding tersely that "it is not clear whether he presents a 'Program'" despite his critiques of the contrasting materialist program gaining influence at the time (CWJ, 4:94).

66. James, review of Wallace (1865), ECR, 206, 207; Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 60, 133; Irmscher, *The Poetics of Natural History*, 236–81; and Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 97–148.

67. James, review of Wallace, ECR, 206–8; "Brute and Human Intellect" (1878), EPS, 1–37; and "Spencer's Definition of Mind" (1878), EPH, 7–22.

68. James, "The Progress of Anthropology" (1868), ECR, 217, 218, 221, 220; to Henry James, Junior, [January 1868], CWJ, 1:29.

69. James, review of Darwin (1868), ECR, 229, 235, 236, 233.

70. Ibid., 237, 239, 235; James to Henry James, Junior, March 9, [1868], CWJ, 1:39; and [Notebook 26], c. 1870, in the entry "Edwards, H. Milne," arranged not by page but alphabetically by entry title. On the role of probabilistic methods in James's philosophy, see Paul Croce, "From History of Science to Intellectual History"; and *Eclipse*, 6–10.

71. Peirce to Daniel Coit Gilman, Sept[ember] 13, 1877; Cope, "James's Correspondence with Gilman," 615.

72. William James to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, May 15, 1868, CWJ, 4:299.

Chapter 2 • Between Scientific and Sectarian Medicine

Epigraph. "The Energies of Men," ERM, 131.

1. William James to Henry, Senior, and Mary James, May 27, [18]67, CWJ, 4:163.

2. William James to Henry Pickering Bowditch, Jan[uar]y 27, 1868, CWJ, 4:259–61 (James recommended the work of physiologist Gabriel Valentin on the nervous system and that of the physician Ludwig Traube on respiratory illness); Legan, "Hydropathy in America"; Nissenbaum, *Sex, Diet, and Debility*; and Cayleff, *Wash and Be Healed*; and Weisz, "Spas, Mineral Waters, and Hydrological Science."

3. William James to Henry Bowditch, May 22, [1869]; Aug[ust] 12, [18]69, CWJ, 4:378, 383; Henry James III, *Charles William Eliot*, 1:275. Commentators have generally followed the views of James's son, Henry James III: TCJ, 1:289; Allen, *William James*, 99; Feinstein, *Becoming William James*, 220; Bjork, *William James*, 86; Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 75. Recent biographers offer a few suggestions about the significance of James's medical education: Simon, *Genuine Reality*, 111, observes that he enlisted his background in medicine when teaching anatomy and physiology in the next few years. Richardson, in *William James*, 103, states that "James had taken [his medical education] more seriously" than the conventional wisdom suggests, but does not elaborate. Sutton, in "Re-writing the Laws of Health," provides much more explanation, in presenting the interconnection of illness and philosophy for James, with disease and health as significant metaphors for theoretical concepts, and she shows his support of alternative medicine emerging in his maturity, shaping his turn to similarly unorthodox philosophies; and see Paul Croce, "William James, Medicine, and Natural Facts."

4. William James to Henry Bowditch, Aug[ust] 12, [18]69, CWJ, 4:383.

5. Ackerknecht, *Medicine at the Paris Hospital*; Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic*; Warner, *Against the Spirit of System*, 246; Krüger et al., *The Probabilistic Revolution*; Paul Croce, "From History of Science to Intellectual History"; and *Eclipse*, 6–10.

6. Warner, *The Therapeutic Perspective*, 254, 62, 165, 206, 219, and "Ideals of Science"; James to Jeannette Barber Gourlay, February 21, 1864, CWJ, 4:90.

7. Ludmerer, *Learning to Heal*, 11–18.

8. Warner, *The Therapeutic Perspective*, 214; Frederick Shattuck and J. Lewis Bremer, "The Medical School," in Morrison *The Development of Harvard University*, 556.

9. William to Alice James, Dec[ember] 12, [1866]; to Frederick George Bromberg, Sept[ember] 30, [18]66; Francis Tucker Washburn to William James, June 5, 1867; William James to Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, March 21, [18]66, CWJ, 4:148, 143, 171, 154; and see the brief mention of his hospital work in Lewis, *The Jameses*, 179.

10. William James to Katherine James Prince, Sept[ember] 12, [1863]; Dec[ember] 13, [1863], CWJ, 4:81, 87; Bowditch to James, Feb[ruary] 19, [18]71, CWJ, 4:413; and Fye, *The Development of American Physiology*, 95–96, 110–12, 128.

11. Warner, *The Therapeutic Perspective*, 232–45; Richard Littman, "Social and Intellectual Origins of Experimental Psychology," and Brendan A. Mahar and Winifred B. Maher, "Psychopathology," in Hearst, *The First Century of Experimental Psychology*, 65, 562; Lesch, *Science and Medicine in France*, 2; Bynum, *Science and the Practice of Medicine in the Nineteenth Century*, 92; and James, review of Bernard, ECR, 222–28.

12. Aminoff, *Brown-Séquard*, 1–71; Tyler and Tyler, "Charles Édouard Brown-Séquard," 1231–36.

13. Aminoff, *Brown-Séquard*, 138, 117–22, 145; Olmstead, *Charles Edouard Brown-Séquard*, 118; Anne Harrington, *Medicine, Mind, and Double Brain*, 118; George Mandler, "Emotion," in Hearst, *The First Century of Experimental Psychology*, 280–81; and Taylor, *William James on Consciousness*, 14.

14. Aminoff, *Brown-Séquard*, 169; James to Thédore Flournoy, Sept[ember] 16, 1908, LeClair, *The Letters of James and Flournoy*, 200 (calendared, CWJ, 12:593); Townsend, *Manhood at Harvard*, 45; James to Henry Bowditch, November 1, 1905, CWJ, 11:576; and LeClair, *The Letters of James and Flournoy*, 216, 213, 206, 208, 210, for Swiss psychologist Flournoy's limited enthusiasm about the compound.

15. Aminoff, *Brown-Séquard*, 43, 61, 51, 4, 58; James, "Vivisection" (1875) and "More on Vivisection" (1876), ECR, 10–13, 18–19. Also see Campbell, "Pragmatism and Moral Growth: James and the Question of Vivisection."

16. Tyler and Tyler, "Charles Édouard Brown-Séquard," 1234–35; Brown-Séquard, *Advice to Students*, 5, 31–32, 10, 12–13, 15, 20, 21, 27; Aminoff, *Brown-Séquard*, 14, 182; James, "Microscopic Notebook," [Notebook 5], 1866; Eugene Taylor, *William James on Consciousness*, 14, 25–96; and Warner, *Against the Spirit of System*, 332–40.

17. Richard Littman, "Social and Intellectual Origins of Experimental Psychology," in Hearst, *The First Century of Experimental Psychology*, 43; William Woodward and Reinhardt Pester, "From *Naturphilosophie* to a Theory of Scientific Method for the Medical Disciplines," in Poggi and Bossi, *Romanticism in Science*, 161–73; Cunningham and Jardine, *Romanticism and the Sciences*, especially 7; Matthews, *Quantification and the Quest for Medical Certainty*; and Ludmerer, *Learning to Heal*.

18. William James to Thomas Ward, Nov[ember] 7, [18]67, CWJ, 4:226; and TCJ, 1:249.

19. Ralph Waldo Emerson to Herman Grimm, October 19, 1867, TCJ, 1:247; James to Thomas Ward, Sept[ember 10], 1867, CWJ, 4:199; and Feinstein, *Becoming William James*, 209–10.

20. James to Thomas Ward, Sept[ember 10], 1867; to Henry Bowditch, Dec[ember] 12, [18]67; and to Ward, Nov[ember 7, [18]67, CWJ, 4:197, 233, 226; Boring, *A History of Experimental Psychology*, 293; Heidelberger, *Nature from Within*, especially 9, 273–317, and his "Fechner's Indeterminism"; and David Murray, "A Perspective for Viewing the Integration of Probability Theory into Psychology," in Krüger et al., *The Probabilistic Revolution*, 1:117–56, 2:73–100. Characteristically, James both studied the methods of psychophysics and praised Fechner's spiritual goals; Boring, 280; PPS, 457–518; and PU, 66–82.

21. Julian Hochberg, "Sensation and Perception," in Hearst, *The First Century of Experimental Psychology*, 92, 98; du Bois-Reymond, *On Animal Electricity*, 109, 112, 2, 29, 180; Boring, *A History of Experimental Psychology*, 30; R. Steven Turner, "Helmholtz, Sensory Physiology, and the Disciplinary Development of German Psychology," in Woodward and Ash, *The Problematic Science*, 147–66; Otis, "The Metaphoric Circuit," 120; and Kalat, *Biological Psychology*, 45.

22. Boring, *A History of Experimental Psychology*, 707; Wertheimer, *A Brief History of Psychology*, 44; William to Alice James, Nov[ember 19, [18]67, CWJ, 4:227; WB, 17–18, 29, 32; [Notebook 26], c. 1865, in the entry "Empiricism," arranged not by page but alphabetically by entry title; Dixon, "The Psychology of the Emotions," 303.

23. Du Bois-Reymond, "Darwin and Copernicus," 249, 250, and "Civilization and Science," 266, 272, 274, 266; I. Bernard Cohen, *Puritanism and the Rise of Modern Science*; Finkelstein, *Emil du Bois-Reymond*; Roger Cooter, "Phrenology and British Alienists," in Scull, *Madhouses, Mad-Doctors, and Madmen*; and Gregory, *Scientific Materialism*, 149, 105–14.

24. William James to Henry Bowditch, Dec[ember] 12, [18]67; and to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sept[ember] 17, [18]67, CWJ, 4:233, 201.

25. William to Henry James, Senior; to Thomas Ward, Oct[ober] 9, [1868]; to Alice James, Aug[u]st 6, 1867; and to Thomas Ward, Nov[ember] 7, [18]67, CWJ, 4:255, 346, 188, 226; *Eclipse*, 108, 137, 138–43; R. Steven Turner, "Helmholtz, Sensory Physiology, and the Disciplinary Development of German Psychology," and William R. Woodward, "Wundt's Program for the New Psychology," in Woodward and Ash, *The Problematic Science*, 147–66, 167–97; and Araujo, *Wundt and the Philosophical Foundations of Psychology*.

26. William to Henry James, Senior, Dec[ember] 26, [18]67; and to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, May 15, 1868, CWJ, 4:243, 301–02, 299.

27. William James to Thomas Ward, Oct[tober] 9, [1868], CWJ, 4:346.

28. William James to Henry Bowditch, June 2, [18]69; to Charles Ritter, 21 janvier [18]69 [translated in TCJ, 1:291]; to Thomas Ward, Dec[ember] 16, [18]68; to Catherine Havens, December 25, [18]68; to Henry James, Junior, March 22, [18]69, June 1, [18]69; and to Thomas Ward, Dec[ember] 10, [18]68, CWJ, 4: 382, 358, 353, 354; 1:61, 78; 4:352.

29. William James to Henry Bowditch, June 2, [18]69; Dec[ember] 12, [18]67, CWJ, 4:381, 235; Fye, *The Development of American Physiology*, 106.

30. William to Henry James, Senior, Dec[ember] 26, [18]67; to Henry Bowditch, Dec[ember] 12, [18]67; Jan[uar]y 24, [1869]; Nov[ember]30, [18]68; Dec[ember] 29,

[18]69, CWJ, 4:243, 235, 361, 350–51, 398; Whitehead, *Modes of Thought*, 3–4; du Bois-Reymond, *On Animal Electricity*, 2, 29, 180; and Finger, *The Origins of Neuroscience*, 432–35.

31. Holmes, *Medical Essays*, 204; Beecher and Altschule, *Medicine at Harvard*, 87–90; Warner, "'The Nature-Trusting Heresy,'" 320–21, and *The Therapeutic Perspective*, 273–77; Fye, *The Development of American Physiology*, 103–9; and Bigelow, "Medical Education in America."

32. Henry Bowditch to William James, Feb[ruary] 10, [18]69, CWJ, 4:365; Henry James III, *Charles William Eliot*, 1:275–76; and Von Kaltenborn, "William James at Harvard," 94. As with every previous commentator on James's medical examination, I had relied on James III's account in *Eclipse*, 147.

33. William James to Henry Bowditch, Dec[ember] 12, [18]67; and to Thomas Ward, March [18]69, CWJ, 4:235, 371.

34. Warner, *The Therapeutic Perspective*, 21–22, and *Against the Spirit of System*, 256, 284; Rothstein, *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century*; Cassedy, *Medicine in America*; Gevitz, *Other Healers*; Naomi Rogers, *An Alternative Path*, especially 1–9; and Whorton, *Nature Cures*.

35. Warner, *The Therapeutic Perspective*, 83–161; Charles E. Rosenberg, "The Therapeutic Revolution: Medicine, Meaning, and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century America," in Vogel and Rosenberg, *The Therapeutic Revolution*, 3–25; and Bates, "Why Not Call Modern Medicine 'Alternative?'"

36. Cunningham and Jardine, *Romanticism and the Sciences*; Winston, *The Faces of Homeopathy*.

37. Warner, *The Therapeutic Perspective*, 41–45.

38. Hazen, *The Village Enlightenment in America*, 113–46; Rennie Schoepflin, "Christian Science Healing in America," Gevitz, *Other Healers*, 192–214; Gottschalk, *The Emergence of Christian Science*; Haller, *Swedenborg, Mesmer, and the Mind/Body Connection*, 1–66; and VRE, 83–92.

39. William Rothstein, "The Botanical Movements and Orthodox Medicine," in Gevitz, *Other Healers*, 29–51; Cassedy, *Medicine in America*, 36–37; and Haller, *Kindly Medicine*.

40. Cayleff, *Wash and Be Healed*; James Whorton, "Patient, Heal Thyself: Popular Health Reform Movements as Unorthodox Medicine," in Gevitz, *Other Healers*, 52–81; Cassedy, *Medicine in America*, 37–44; and Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, 163–82.

41. Whewell, *History of the Inductive Sciences*, 5; *Eclipse*, 87–99; Snyder, *The Philosophical Breakfast Club*, 1–7; and Alter, *William Dwight Whitney*, 96.

42. Hobhouse, "Quinine and the White Man's Burden," in *Seeds of Change*, 3–40; Kett, *The Formation of the American Medical Profession*, 162; Kaufman, *Homeopathy in America*; and Cassedy, *Medicine in America*, 37–38.

43. Coulter, *Divided Legacy*, 57; Ann Jerome Croce, "Another Medical Paradigm."

44. Haller, *Medical Protestants*; Cassedy, *Medicine in America*, 38–39; Rothstein, *American Physicians*, 217–29; and Cayleff, *Wash and Be Healed*, 12.

45. Brendan Maher and Winifred Maher, "Psychopathology," in Hearst, *The First Century of Experimental Psychology*, 562; Bynum, *Science and the Practice of Medicine*, xiii; Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, 99–102; Coulter, *Divided Legacy*; Rothstein, *American Physicians*; Martin Kaufman, "Homeopathy in America:

The Rise and Fall and Persistence of a Medical Heresy," in Gevitz, *Other Healers*, 99–123; Eisenberg, "Unconventional Medicine in the United States," 246–52; Hansen, *Picturing Medical Progress*; Micozzi, *Fundamentals of Complementary and Alternative Medicine*; National Institutes of Health, *Alternative Medicine*; Michael Cohen, *Complementary and Alternative Medicine*; and Whorton, *Nature Cures*, 307.

46. Coulter, *Divided Legacy*, 104, 261; Rothstein, *American Physicians*, 245.

47. Wilkinson, *Memoir*, 246–47, 297, and *The Human Body*, vii; Bjork, *William James*, 212, 231, 235, 255–57; Simon, *Genuine Reality*, 92, 356, 361-61; Robert Richardson, *William James*, 507–8; and Habegger, *The Father*, 176, 462.

48. Habegger, *The Father*, 362, 391; William to Henry James, Junior, Nov[ember] 24, [18]72; March 22, [1874], CWJ, 1:178, 228.

49. Henry, Junior, to William James, February 13, [18]70; William to Henry James, Junior, Nov[ember] 24, [18]72; and Henry, Junior, to William James, October 7, [1869], CWJ, 1:142, 178, 106; Mary to Henry James, Senior, September 21, 1869, quoted in Feinstein, *Becoming William James*, 220; and Phatak, *Materia Medica of Homeopathic Medicines*, 433–37, 503–7.

50. Nathaniel Shaler to William James, January 26, [18]68; William James to Henry James, Senior, Oct[ober] 5, [18]68; to Alice James, May 14, [18]68; and to Henry James, Junior, May 7, [18]70, CWJ, 4: 257–58, 341, 297, and 1:159; Legan, "Hydropathy in America"; Nissenbaum, *Sex, Diet, and Debility*; Cayleff, *Wash and Be Healed*; and Weisz, "Spas, Mineral Waters, and Hydrological Science."

51. Nichols, *An Introduction to the Water-Cure*, 34; Rausse, *The Water-Cure*, 67; Hero, "Errors in Home Practice," 102; Warner, *The Therapeutic Perspective*, 58, and *Against the Spirit of System*, 254; Cayleff, *Wash and Be Healed*, 35, 96; and Jean Silver-Isenstadt, "Passions and Perversions: The Radical Ambitions of Dr. Thomas Low Nichols," in Rosenberg, *Right Living*, 186–205.

52. Shew, *Hydropathy*, iv, ix, 68; William to Henry James, Junior, May 7, [18]70, CWJ, 1:160; and Rausse, *The Water-Cure*, 89, and *Errors of Physicians*, 89.

53. Rausse, *The Water-Cure*, 5, 108, 68, 111; Shew, *Hydropathy*, 125; Horsell, *Hydropathy for the People*, 231; Shew, *Hydropathy*, 118; and Rausse, *Errors of Physicians*, 38.

54. Rausse, *The Water-Cure*, 49, 43, 47, 255; Shew, *Hydropathy*, 173, 174; and Wilkinson, *Memoir*, 78.

55. William to Henry James, Junior, May 7, [18]70; and to Robertson James, Ap[ri]l 28, [18]70, CWJ, 1:159–60, 4:406; Rausse, *The Water-Cure*, 49; and Hocking, Class notes of James, Psychology of Religion, 11.

56. William to Henry James, Junior, June 27, 1867; to Alice James, Aug[u]st 6, 1867; and to Henry James, Senior, Sept[ember] 5, [18]67, CWJ, 1:17, 4:189, 194. Teplitz, also spelled Teplice and Teplička, is a town in the northwest region of what is now the Czech Republic, 73 miles (116 kilometers) southwest of Dresden, Germany.

57. William to Henry James, Senior, Sept[ember] 5, [18]67; to Thomas Ward, Nov[ember] 7, [18]67; to Henry Bowditch, Dec[ember 12, [18]67; to Thomas Ward, Jan[uar]y [7], [18]68; and to Henry Bowditch, Jan[uar]y 27, 1868, CWJ, 4:194, 226, 233, 251, 259.

58. William to Alice James, March 16, [18]68; to his family, April 16, [1868]; to Thomas Ward, May 24, 1868; and to Alice James, May 14, [18]68, CWJ, 4: 265, 287,

305, 297. Lewis, *The Jameses*, offers a dramatic metaphor about James's continual return to Teplitz without reference to the benefits that James perceived: Lewis calls his water-cure visits "weary circling, . . . the bleak repetitiveness traditionally associated with the experience of hell" (194).

59. William to Henry James, Senior, July 3, [18]67; and to Mary James, July 9, [18]68, CWJ, 4:327, 328.

60. Henry Bowditch to William James, September 18, [1868]; and James to Catherine Havens, Aug[ust] 29, [18]68; to Henry Bowditch, Sept[ember 20, 18]68; and to Henry James, Senior, Oct[ober] 5, [18]68, CWJ, 4:337, 333–34, 338, 339, 341.

61. William James to Tom Ward, May 24, 1868; to Henry James [Junior]; to Alice James, June 4, [18]68; and to Mary James, July 9, [18]68, CWJ, 4:309, 315, 329; 1:83. Lewis, *The Jameses*, 196, presents these early assertions of will as "William's version of what was becoming known as 'Mind-cure.'"

62. William James to Tom Ward, Dec[ember] 10, [18]68; and to Henry Bowditch, Nov[ember 30, [18]68; May 22, [1869], CWJ, 4:352, 350, 378; and see Paul Croce, "In Search of William James's Medical Thesis."

63. Henry, Junior, to William James, May 10, [1867], CWJ, 1:14; Mary to William James, May 27, [1867]; William James to Henry Bowditch, Jan[uar]y 27, 1868; to Henry James, Senior, Oct[ober] 5, [18]68; Aug[ust] 7, [18]68; and to Thomas Ward, Oct[ober] 9, [1868], CWJ, 4:166, 260, 341, 331, 346; [Notebook 26], c. 1868–69, in the entry "Similia similibus curantur [Like cures like]," arranged not by page but alphabetically by entry title.

64. William James to Henry Pickering Bowditch, Jan[uar]y 27, 1868, CWJ, 4:260–61, 259–60. In these same years, James made notes on the "Heat, physiological effects of"; [Notebook 26], c. 1869, arranged not by page but alphabetically by entry title.

65. William James to Tom Ward, Oct[tober] 9, [1868]; to his father, Oct[ober] 5, [18]68; to Henry Bowditch, May 22, [18]68; to Tom Ward, Dec[ember] 10, [18]68; and to Henry Bowditch, Feb[ruary] 10, [18]69, CWJ, 4:346, 342, 378, 352, 364. Also see to Henry Bowditch, Nov[ember] 30, [18]68, CWJ, 4:349–50.

66. William to Henry James, Senior, Dec[ember] 26, [18]67; and to Henry Pickering Bowditch, Aug[ust] 12, [18]69, CWJ, 4:243, 383; and VRE, 25.

67. Naomi Rogers, *An Alternative Path*, 9; William to Henry James, Senior, Oct[ober] 5, [18]68, CWJ, 4:342.

68. William to Henry James, Oct[ober] 2, [18]69; Oct[ober] 25, [1869]; and to Henry Bowditch, Nov[ember] 30, [18]68, CWJ, 1:100, 113, and 4:350; Robert Richardson, *William James*, 106, 420, 480; Feinstein, *Becoming William James*, 205; William to Robertson James, Ap[ri]l 28, [18]70; and to Thomas Ward, May 24[,] 1868, CWJ, 4:406, 305; Shew, *Hydropathy*, 231.

69. Beard, "Neurasthenia, or Nervous Exhaustion," 217; *A Practical Treatise*, 17, 218–19; and *American Nervousness*, 11, 313, 54–55, 179, 182; Mitchell, *Fat and Blood*; Lovering, *S. Weir Mitchell*, 23–25; Trall, *Nervous Debility*, 25; Rodgers, *The Work Ethic*; Rabinbach, *The Human Motor*; Tone, *The Age of Anxiety*, 8–14; and Gilman, "The Yellow Wallpaper." For more medical evaluation of neurasthenia, see Charles Rosenberg, "The Place of George M. Beard"; Carlson, "George M. Beard and Neurasthenia"; Sicherman, "The Paradox of Prudence"; Scull, *Madhouses, Mad-Doctors, and*

Madmen, 218–40; and Gosling, *Before Freud*. And for more cultural contexts, see Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 47–58; Lutz, *American Nervousness*; and Lane, *To Herland and Beyond*.

70. James to Thomas Ward, March 27, [18]66, CWJ, 4:137; PBC, 192; "The Gospel of Relaxation," TT, 117–31; "Vacations," ECR, 3–7; VRE, 508, 134–35; to G. H. Howison, July 17, 1895, CWJ, 8:57; PPS, 359–62, 1152–53; James Anderson, "'The Worst Kind of Melancholy,'" 384; and CWJ, 7:434, 11:42. Commentaries about neurasthenia in James generally adopt a dismissive tone; see McQuade, introduction to CWJ, 9:xxxiii; Bjork, *William James*, 93; and Robert Richardson, *William James*, 119, 419, 38.

71. W. F. Robinson, *Electro-Therapeutics*, 13, 39–59; Beard, *A Practical Treatise*, 116, 210–12; [Notebook 26], c. 1868–69, in the entry "Vital Force," arranged not by page but alphabetically by entry title; and VRE, 20.

72. Bjork, *William James*, 255; James, review of Hinton, and "Medical Registration Act" (1894), ECR, 285, 148; Trufant, "William James and the Mind-Cure Controversy," 38; and Paul Croce, "Calming the Screaming Eagle." Sutton, in "Re-writing the Laws of Health," argues that James's public stands in support of sectarian healers were a culmination of a personal and philosophical transformation, during the 1880s, in reaction against the overreliance of the medical profession on scientific "laws of health."

73. William James, "On a Certain Blindness in Human Beings," TT, 132–49; to Charles Eliot Norton, Nov[ember] 17, [1864], CWJ, 4:94; "Address on the Medical Registration Bill" (1898), ECR, 60–61; and "Philosophical Conceptions and Practical Results" (1898), PRG, 258. Also see Coulter, *Divided Legacy*, 466–69; Gottschalk, *The Emergence of Christian Science*, 91; Trufant, "William James and the Mind-Cure Controversy," 35; and Matteson, "'Their Facts Are Patent and Startling,'" part 1, 5–8.

74. "Address on the Medical Registration Bill," ECR, 60–61; James to John Jay Chapman, April 5, 1897; and to Henry Rankin, Feb[ruary] 27, 1903, CWJ, 8:254, 10:208.

75. "Moral Medication" (1968), ECR, 245 (my translation); Whorton, *Nature Cures*, 307; EPH, 32–64; PRG, 62; PU, 145; William to Henry James, Senior, Oct[ober] 5, [18]68, CWJ, 4:341; Dods, *The Philosophy of Mesmerism and Electrical Psychology*, 173; and Coon, "Courtship with Anarchy," 360–76.

76. William to Henry James, Junior, Jan[uary] 24, [18]09; March 6, [18]09; Oct[ober] 6, 19[09]; CWJ, 3:376, 386; and Bjork, *William James*, 257.

77. William to Henry James, Junior, March 6, [18]09, CWJ, 3:386–87; Moskowitz, *Resonance: The Homeopathic Point of View*; and Grimes, "Resonance and Pain."

78. William to Henry James, Junior, March 6, [18]09, CWJ, 3:386–87.

79. William to Robertson James, Oct[ober] 30, [18]09; to Margaret James, July 5, 1906; and to Alice Runnells James, CWJ, 12:356, 11:247, 12:387; WB, 6; and PRG, 258.

80. James, review of Josef Breuer and Sigmund Freud, 1894, ECR, 474–75; Freud, "Autobiographical Study" (1925), in Rosenzweig, *Freud, Jung, and Hall*, 171. Also see Sutton, "Interpreting 'Mind Cure,'" 124–28.

81. ERE; William James to Henry Bowditch, Aug[ust] 12, [18]69, CWJ, 4:383; and "Address on the Medical Registration Bill," ECR, 57.

Chapter 3 • The Ancient Art of Natural Grace

Epigraph. William to Henry James, April 13, 1868, in CWJ, 1:48.

1. "Nature," *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1:1900. There has been limited attention to James's interest in the ancients, especially for his early years, and the message has generally been that he was merely dabbling in ancient culture, or even that he simply dismissed its perspectives: John McDermott, introduction to William James, *Writings*, xxx–xxxi; Levinson, *The Religious Investigations of William James*, 25; Bjork, *William James*, 279; Gerald Myers, *William James*, 29, 468; Cotkin, *William James*, 58; and Barnard, *Exploring Unseen Worlds*, 14. Sutton, "Marcus Aurelius, William James and the 'Science of Religions,'" offers more evaluation while maintaining a focus on his mature works; and Stroud, "James and the Impetus of Stoic Rhetoric," shows the importance of Stoicism in the development of his persuasive style of writing.

2. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism*, 68, 70; Aliotta, *The Idealistic Reaction against Science*; Chadwick, *Secularization of the European Mind*; Henry James, Senior, *Substance and Shadow*, 229, 249, 274–75; Eugene Taylor, "The Interior Landscape," 4; and *Eclipse*, 49–66.

3. [Diary 1], April 20–21, [1868], 30, 32, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37.

4. William to Henry James, Senior, Jan[uar]y 22, [18]68; and to Thomas Ward, Oct[tober] 9 [1868], CWJ, 4:255, 347 (my translation from the French).

5. Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, 1:10, 12, 36; Eric Mazur and Katie McCarthy, "Finding Religion in American Popular Culture," in *God in the Details*, 2; Hammond, *Sacred in a Secular Age*; and Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street*, xvii.

6. Swift, *A Tale of a Tub*; Joseph Levine, *The Battle of the Books*; DeJean, *Ancients against Moderns*; Joseph Levine, *Between the Ancients and the Moderns*; Gates, *Loose Canons*; Graff, *Beyond the Culture Wars*; and Knox, *The Oldest Dead White European Males*.

7. William to Henry James, [September 7, 1861]; April 6, 1873, in CWJ, 1:2, 196; Henry James III, introduction to LWJ, 1:20; and Harding, *The Boston Athenaeum Collection*, 2.

8. [Notebook 3], 35; William to Henry James, March 9 [1868], CWJ, 1:38.

9. [Diary 1], April 3 [1868], 7–8.

10. Middlekauff, *Ancients and Axioms*; Reinhold, *Classica Americana*, 24, 216; Richard, *The Founders and the Classics*; Vance, *Classical Rome*; Shields, *The American Aeneas*, 9, 58–71, 217–50; and Winterer, *The Culture of Classicism*. Publius Vergilius Maro, 70-19 BCE, has been popularly known as Vergil, and in English, Virgil.

11. Winterer, *Culture of Classicism*, 77–98, ix (referring to Stevenson), 110; Vance, *Classical Rome*, 256; Onians, *Classical Art*, 15, 33–35, 75, 59–60; James, "Social Value of the College Bred," ECR, 106–12; and Lycan, *Stetson University*, 177.

12. Winterer, *Culture of Classicism*, 84, 61; Reinhold, *Classica Americana*, 218–19; Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste*, 234–37; Wright, *Building the American Dream*, 33; Gowans, *Styles and Types of North American Architecture*, 83–93; Samuel Lewis, *On Three Statuettes Found at Tanagra*; and Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines*.

13. Raizis and Papas, *American Poets and the Greek Revolution*; Flower and Murphey, *A History of Philosophy in America*, 463–508.

14. Winckelmann, *Writings on Art*; James, [Diary 1], April 22, [1868], 42; Lovejoy, "Schiller and the Genesis of German Romanticism," 207, 23; William to Henry James, Ap[ri]l 5, [18]68, CWJ, 1:41; Dennis Schmidt, *On Germans and Other Greeks*, 78; and Marchand, *Down from Olympus*. On twentieth-century evaluations of the legacy of the ancients in Western civilization, see Jaeger, *Paideia*; and Auerbach, *Mimesis*.

15. Everett, "The History of Grecian Art" (1821); Winterer, *Culture of Classicism*, 53; Flower and Murphey, *A History of American Philosophy*, 401–27, 463–508; Vance, *Classical Rome*, 349; Reinhold, *Classica Americana*, 269, 272; and Hopper, *The Early Greeks*, 91.

16. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, 14–15, 28, 31–33; Winterer, *Culture of Classicism*, 77–81, 127.

17. Quoted in Vance, *Classical Rome*, 204.

18. Winterer, *Culture of Classicism*, 128; Vance, *Classical Rome*, 203; Saunders, *John Smibert*, 67–68; Wallach, *Exhibiting Contradictions*, 38–56; Henry James, Junior, *The American Scene*, 138; and Orvell, *The Real Thing*, xv.

19. Jones and Galison, *Picturing Science, Producing Art*; Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*; Davis, *Circus Age*; and Winterer, *Culture of Classicism*, 129.

20. William to Henry James, Dec[ember] 5, [18]69, CWJ, 1:128; PPS, 105; "The Sentiment of Rationality," EPH, 33.

21. [Diary 1], April 11, [1868], 14.

22. [Diary 1], April 1, [1868], 1; PPS, 126, 130.

23. [Diary 1], April 3 [1868], 7–8; Richard Smith, *Mallarmé's Children*, 92; and Homer, *The Odyssey*, book 18, lines 99–101.

24. James, [Diary 1], April 11, April 3 [1868], 14–15, 9.

25. James, [Diary 1], April 10, [1868], 11; Vance, *Classical Rome*, 251; Symonds, *Studies of the Greek Poets*; Frank Turner, *The Greek Heritage*, 114–15; and Curtis, *Disarmed*.

26. James, [Diary 1], April 14, [1868], 15, 24; Frank Turner, *The Greek Heritage*, 65–67.

27. James, [Diary 1], April 11, 16.

28. Oppermann, *Rietschel*, 129, 130, 123, 95, 65–66, 139–40; James, [Diary 1], April 11, [1868], 16–17.

29. James, [Diary 1], April 11 [1868], 15, 18; R. W. B. Lewis, *The Jameses*, 195; ERE, 18, 45. In his assessment of ancients' simple and direct relations with nature, James anticipates Erich Auerbach, who, in *Mimesis*, observes that Homer's heroes "wake every morning as if it were the first day of their lives: their emotions, though strong, are simple" (12).

30. Vance, in *Classical Rome*, 274; Hadot, *Veil of Isis*, 64; and Jenkyns, *Dignity and Decadence*, 102–3, paraphrasing S. C. Hall. Novak, *Voyages of the Self*, 77–101, compares Winslow Homer and William James.

31. [Diary 1], April 10, [1868], 10–11; Arnold, "Pagan and Mediæval Religious Sentiment," and "Marcus Aurelius," *Essays in Criticism*, 262; Frank Turner, *The Greek Heritage*, 19–27; and Anton, *American Naturalism and Greek Philosophy*. Barbara Loerzer, "James, the French Tradition, and the Incomplete Transposition of the Spiritual into the Aesthetic," points to James's discovery of the ancient Greek

"challenges to the basic assumptions of Christianity"; in Halliwell and Rasmussen, *James and the Transatlantic Conversation*, 72.

32. James, [Diary 1], April 12, [1868], 17, 18; Scully, in *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods*, 208. This orientation parallels James's own emphasis on moral striving; see chapter 4.

33. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 35, 73, 86, 199; Ogilvie, *The Romans and Their Gods*, 13, 83; Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religions*; Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*; Vernant, *Myth and Thought among the Greeks*, xi–xii, 88; Simon Price, *Religions of the Ancient Greeks*; and Laskaris, *The Art Is Long*.

34. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, 13; Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 3–4.

35. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 199, 183; Greene, *Natural Knowledge*, xviii, 46–88; Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 4; and Parker, *On Greek Religions*, x, 88–95.

36. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 8; Veyne, *Did the Greeks Believe Their Myths?*, 17–21, 52–62, 92; Scarborough, *Myth and Modernity*, 4; Price, *Religions of the Ancient Greeks*; Vernant, *Myth and Thought among the Greeks*; Hadot, *Veil of Isis*, 62; Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse*; and Frank Turner, *Greek Heritage*, 103.

37. Onians, *Classical Art*, xiii, 1–3; Scully, *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods*, 208. Jaeger, *Paideia*, argues that the ancient Greeks "did not see any part of [nature] as separate and cut off from the rest, but always as an element in a living whole" (1:xx).

38. Martin, *Hellenistic Religions*, 8, 47; Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 199–202; Frank Turner, *The Greek Heritage*, 123–27 (Harrison quoted, Turner, 123); Parker, *On Greek Religion*, xi; and Bambach, *Heidegger's Roots*, 46–56.

39. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 149, 105, 117, and "Science as Vocation," 139, 148–49, 139; James Turner, *Without God, Without Creed*, 251–54; Vance, *Classical Rome*, 364; Ratner-Rosenhagen, *American Nietzsche*; Febvre, *The Problem of Unbelief*; and Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind*, 138–39.

40. Martin, *Hellenistic Religions*, 58–150; Millar, *Rome, the Greek World, and the East*; MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 50–101; and Parker, *On Greek Religion*, 98, 246.

41. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian*, 37, 101–2, 113–15, 132–37; Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*; Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, 18, 33–35; Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops*, 458; and MacMullan, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 86–101.

42. James, [Diary 1], April 14, [1868], 24–25, 23–24.

43. James, [Diary 1], April 13, [1868], 22–23; William to Henry James, April 13, [18]68, CWJ, 1:48, 47; Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*; Cotkin, *William James*, 40–72; Leary, "The Influence of Literature in the Life and Work of William James"; and Paulin, "*Hamlet* in Germany."

44. James, [Diary 1], April 13, [1868], 22–23, 29; William to Henry James, April 13, [18]68, CWJ, 1:48.

45. William James to Henry James, Senior, Oct[ober] 5, [18]68; and to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, May 15, 1868, CWJ, 4:342, 298. Shusterman, *Body Consciousness*, critiques James's advice to friends and to himself for relying too much on the will (168); and Erin McKenna, "Women and William James," in Tarver and Sullivan, *William James and Feminism*, points to the patronizing qualities of his advice, especially to his sister Alice James.

46. William James to Thomas Ward, Oct[tober] 9, [18]68; Dec[ember] 10, [18]68, CWJ, 4:346 352.

47. William James to Thomas Ward, Jan[uar]y [7, 18]68; April 4, [1869]; and to Henry Bowditch, Aug[ust] 12, [18]69, CWJ, 4:250–51, 371, 385; R. W. B. Lewis, *The Jameses*, 190; WB, 29; and PPS, 131.

48. [Diary 1], April 22 and May 2, [1868], 39, 52–53; William to Henry James, Junior, April 12, [18]68, CWJ, 1:48; James, [Notebook 3], 35, and [Notebook 26], c. 1869, entry on "Duty," arranged not by page but alphabetically by entry title.

49. James to Thomas Ward, J, June 8, [18]66, CWJ, 4:140–41.

50. Epictetus, *Discourses*, 33; James, [Notebook 3], 1863, 35; A. A. Long, *Epictetus*; and Hard, *The Discourses of Epictetus*.

51. James, [Notebook 3], 1863, 35; and Paul Croce, "Calming the Screaming Eagle."

52. Henry James, Junior, review of *The Works of Epictetus*, 601, 605; William James to Thomas Ward, June 8, [18]66; Jan[uar]y, [7, 18]68; and to Edgar Van Winkle, March 1, 1858, CWJ, 4:250, 140–41, 14.

53. Sambursky, *Physics of the Stoics*; A. A. Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy*, 107–248; Hahm, *The Origins of Stoic Cosmology*; Sellars, *Stoicism*; and Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*.

54. Hadot, *The Inner Citadel*, 156–58; Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire*, 12; and Arnold, "Marcus Aurelius," in *Essays in Criticism*, 282–83.

55. Hadot, *The Inner Citadel*, 166; Aurelius, *Meditations*, V:8, IV:40, V:27; Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire*, 333; and Epictetus, *Discourses*, 20.

56. Hadot, *The Inner Citadel*, 118. Doyle, *Free Will*, 74, presents Stoic philosophy in two layers, pointing out that the physics and logic of the Stoics, with their focus on overarching Reason, was deterministic, while their ethics emphasized free will.

57. Hadot, *The Inner Citadel*, 84; Aurelius, *Meditations*, VI:13; and Epictetus, quoted in Hadot, 167. Also see *Meditations*, IX:24.

58. Epictetus, *Discourses*, 61; Hadot, *The Inner Citadel*, 55, 58; and Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire*, 497–99, 9–12, 363, 430.

59. Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire*, 7, 33, 353, 316; Hadot, *The Inner Citadel*, 48–52, 101, 30–32, 23–24; Herodian, *History of the Roman Empire*, book 1, chapter 2, line 4; Jaeger, *Paideia*, 3:3–7; Rutherford, *The* Meditations *of Marcus Aurelius*; ; and Sutton, "Marcus Aurelius, William James and the 'Science of Religions.'"

60. William to Robertson James, July 25, [18]70, CWJ, 4:409.

61. William to Henry James, [December 1867]; James to Henry Pickering Bowditch, May 22, [18]69; William to Henry James, Jan[uar]y 1, [1876]; William James to Pauline Goldmark, Dec[ember] 28, [1905]; and Henry James, Junior, to William James, Oct[ober] 23, [1876], CWJ, 1:26; 4:378; 1:250; 11:130–31, 1:273.

62. William to Alice James, Dec[ember] 24, [18]73; and to Alice Howe Gibbens James, [October 9, 1876], CWJ, 4:475, 547; Bradley to James, May 14, 1909, TCJ, 2:353, 640.

63. PPS, 169–70; PBC, 169; and VRE, 77–78, 121, 71–138.

64. James to Alice Howe Gibbens, [October 9, 1876], CWJ, 4:547; James, notes on Schiller's "On the Naïve and Sentimental" and "On Grace and Dignity," [Diary 1], April 20, [1868], 30–38; Mary Temple to John Chipman Gray, August 29, [1869]; January 25–27, 1870; Temple to William James, [January 15, 1870], CWJ, 4:401;

William James, review of Huxley, ECR, 203; and Henry James, Junior, *Notes of a Son and Brother*, 455.

65. James to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, May 15, 1868; and to Thomas Sergeant Perry, Feb[ruary] 4, 1865, CWJ, 4: 303, 96.

66. James to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, May 15, 1868; and to Thomas Ward, Oct[ober] 9, [1868], CWJ, 4: 303, 347. James's spiritual ideas resemble the liberal turn in modern American religion; see Kittelstrom, *The Religion of Democracy*.

67. James to Charles Ritter, January 21, [18]69, CWJ, 4:360 (original letter in French; TCJ, 1:292 for English translation); Notes for Philosophy 9, ML, 367; and PU, 142.

68. WB, 8; ERE, 43; James to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, May 15, 1868, CWJ, 4:303; VRE, 400, 403, 170, 190; and Paul Croce, "Spilt Mysticism." Thomas Berry, *The Dream of the Earth*, 207–8, introduced the term *inscendence* to refer to his call for an invention of "a sustainable culture by a descent into our . . . instinctive resources." On the relation of James's mature philosophy and his experiential approach to religion, see the works on his philosophy of religion cited in my introduction, toward the end of note 14.

69. VRE, 403 (emphasis in original); PRG, 44; Taves, *Fits, Trances, and Visions*, 269–95, 255–60; and Aostre Johnson, "James's Concept of Mystical Consciousness," in Jim Garrison et al., *William James and Education*, 151–71; and in critique of James's religious views, see Oppenheim, *Reverence for the Relations of Life*, 79.

70. VRE, 20, 384; PRG, 144; Notes for Philosophy 9 (1905–6), ML, 367; William to Henry James, [Junior], April 13, [18]68, CWJ, 1:48; and James, review of Morley, ECR, 263–64.

71. James to Thomas Ward, Jan[uar]y [7, 18]68; Dec[ember] 30, [18]76, CWJ, 4:249, 552; [Notebook 26], c. 1869, in the entry on "Faith," arranged not by page but alphabetically by entry title; VRE, 1, 33, 400–403; and WB, 19.

72. James to Alice Howe Gibbens, [October 9, 1876]; and to Thomas Ward, March [18]69, CWJ, 4:547, 370; VRE, 396; Barbour, *Religion in an Age of Science*, 85; [Diary 1], April 10, [1873], [88]; and Leary, "New Insights into William James's Personal Crisis: Part I. Arthur Schopenhauer." On James's own studies, see Eugene Taylor, "Psychology of Religion and Asian Studies," 69–70; [Notebook 3], which includes James's notes on Max Müller, *Sacred Books of the East*; Cox, *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*; Baldwin, *Pre-historic Nations*; and Constant, *Du polythéisme romain*. Also see Frank Turner, *The Greek Heritage*, 103–10; and Marchand, "Philhellenism and the *Furor Orientalis*," 351.

73. James to Thomas Ward, March [18]69; Ward to James, April 4, [1869];] and James to Charles Ritter, January 21, [18]69, CWJ, 4: 370, 372–73, 359 (original letter in French; see TCJ, 1: 292 for English translation); and Snow, *The Two Cultures*.

74. Ward to James, April 4, [1869]; and James to Charles Ritter, January 21, [18]69, CWJ, 4:372–73, 359; Alter, *Darwinism and the Linguistic Image*; Goodrick-Clarke, *The Occult Roots of Nazism*; Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, especially 25–61, 116–86; Mallowy, "The Aryan Myth," in *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, 266–70; Irmscher, *The Poetics of Natural History*, 236–81; and Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 117–48.

75. [Notebook 8], "~~Cause~~ Philosophizing," 1876–77; William James to Alice Howe Gibbens, June 7, [18]77, CWJ, 4:571; PRG, 123; PU, 153; and see introduction, note 14.

After considering alternatives, James simply called his notebook "Philosophizing . . . &c" showing the combination of broad sweep and informality of these private thoughts; also in MEN, 160–61; see chapter 4, note 70.

76. Schiller, "Gods of the Greeks," 4. On the range of relations between science and religion, see my introduction, note 18.

77. James, [Diary 1], April 11 [1868], 18; and VRE, 20.

78. ERE, 262; Kittelstrom, "Too Hidebound," and *The Religion of Democracy*. On approaches to James showing his integration of mind and body, see my introduction, note 19.

79. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*, 26, 25, 39; Dewey, "William James" (1910), and *Experience and Nature* (1925), 216.

80. Kloppenberg, "Pragmatism," 111–12; Rorty, "Dewey between Hegel and Darwin," in Ross, *Modernist Impulses*, 54–55, 56, 61; Lindberg and Numbers, *God and Nature*; Grassie, *The New Sciences of Religion*; Daston and Mitman, *Thinking with Animals*; Stewart et al., *Enaction*; Damasio, *Descartes' Error*, and *Looking for Spinoza*; Hughes, *Consciousness and Society*; Skrbina, *Panpsychism in the West*; and *Eclipse*, 3–17.

81. "The Sentiment of Rationality," EPH, 33, 56; [Notebook 2], 20. On linguistic and experiential approaches to pragmatism, see Misak, *The New Pragmatists*; and Judith Green, *Bernstein and the Pragmatist Turn*.

82. PRG, 31; WB, 8; and James to Frances Morse, April 12, 1900, CWJ, 9:186.

83. James Turner, "William James Redraws the Map," in *Religion Enters the Academy*; and Albanese, *American Spiritualities*, *Nature Religion in America*, and *Reconsidering Nature Religion*, 9, 6. On the rise of spirituality as it has emerged within existing religions, in secular spheres, and in the development of new religious movements, see Hedstrom, *Rise of Religious Liberalism*; Leigh Schmidt, *Restless Souls*, 53; Christopher White, *Unsettled Minds*; Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 2:528; Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land*, 319; Albanese, *America, Religions, and Religion*, 252; Wuthnow, *After Heaven*; Roof, *Spiritual Marketplace* and *A Generation of Seekers*; Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit*; Fuller, *Spiritual but Not Religious*; and Phillip Lucas, "New Religious Movements," in Lippy and Williams, *Encyclopedia of Religion in America*. Even Charles Taylor, who criticizes this form of religion grown separate from institutional affiliation, acknowledges the surging growth of these spiritual trends since James's time (*A Secular Age*, 2–3, 510, 518, 535). And on the role of James and pragmatism in these trends, see Bridgers, *Contemporary Varieties of Religious Experience*; Joan Richardson, *A Natural History of Pragmatism*; and Feffer, *Chicago Pragmatists*, 13, 69.

84. James to Thomas Ward, March [18]69, CWJ, 4:370–71. Michael Polanyi notices James's avoidance of sharply contrasting choices, in particular, in his views of teleology; see note 78 in this chapter, and chapter 4, note 70.

85. James to Thomas Ward, March [18]69, CWJ, 4:370–71.

Chapter 4 • Crises and Construction

Epigraph. William to Henry James, Junior, Jan[uar]y 19, [18]70; May 7, [18]70, CWJ, 1:140, 158. Throughout his early years, James misspelled "necessary" (so did his mother—e.g., Mary to William James, Nov[ember] 21, [1867], CWJ, 4:230).

1. William James to his parents, July 9, July 3, [18]68; to Katherine Temple Emmet, Aug[ust] 3, [1864]; and to his parents, April 21, [1865], CWJ, 4:328, 327, 91, 100; [Diary 1], May 22, [1868], 54; [Diary 1], Feb[ruar]y 1, 1870, [79]; and William to Robertson James, Jan[uar]y 2, [18[72], CWJ, 4:400.

2. See my introduction, notes 20–21, for the ways James has been understood in different disciplinary fields. In short, biographical and historical evaluations of James have emphasized his youth as a time of crisis; and most evaluations of James's well-known theories have included only a brief look at his "crisis" before moving on to the mature James. Charlene Haddock Seigfried, however, takes steps toward the integration of his youthful troubles into his mature thought by organizing her *William James's Radical Reconstruction of Philosophy* through his steps in response to three major crises: before 1872, in 1895, and in 1908–9.

3. *Eclipse*, 59–60; William James to Henry James, Junior, May 7, [18]70, CWJ, 1:159; and review of *Fifth Report of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts* (1874), ECR, 281.

4. [Diary 1], April 12, 1868, 18; review of Bernard, ECR, 222; to Henry James, Junior, May 7, [18]70, CWJ, 1:159; books lists at the end of [Diary 1], with the date 1870 after the first few pages; and [Notebook 3], 1862–63, with extensive reading notes on diverse books on science, religion, the ancients, and modern literature. Despite standard interpretations about James's youth as a time of troubles, some commentators have briefly acknowledged his constructive developments at this time. Émile Boutroux, *William James*, even maintains that despite "his ill-health . . . he continued to work to his fancy, assuming no professional obligations . . . [but with] intellectual curiosity [and] eagerness for varied knowledge" (6). Boring, *A History of Experimental Psychology*, in reporting on the invalidism of James's youth, mentioned that it was a time of "extensive systematic reading" (510). Bjork, *William James*, credits his mother with realization that "although he is . . . far from well . . . he is full of mental activity and vigor" (81). Lewis, *The Jameses*, insists that "it is always important, in reading the William James of these years, to take note of the comic or the wry as it interpenetrates the miserable or the desperate" (173). Feinstein, in "The 'Crisis' of William James," astutely observes that "what James meant by the term 'crisis' . . . is not a conversion experience but a moment of intense emotion to be used for moral improvement" (73).

5. *Eclipse*, 191–95; Galenson, *Old Masters and Young Geniuses*. James's development also exhibits characteristics of the "growth mindset" in the attribution theory of motivation; see Dweck and Leggett, "A Social-Cognitive Approach," with their distinction between attitudes adaptive because mastery-oriented in contrast with attitudes maladaptive and helpless; and Dweck in *Mindset* differentiates the growth mind-set that "allows people to thrive during some of the most challenging times in their lives" (7), from the fixed mind-set that brings resignation to troubles.

6. LWJ, 1:32; Alice to Henry James, Senior, M[ar]ch 11, [1860], James Family papers, bMS Am 1094 (1467); William James to Edgar Van Winkle, Sept[ember] 4, 1857; March 1, 1858; May 26, 1858, CWJ, 4:6, 11, 13, 16. Rousseau wrote, just before the line James recorded, words that spoke directly to his condition: "Think about that, young man; what are ten, twenty, thirty years to an immortal being"; Rousseau, *Julie*, Letter XXII. On James's childhood temperament, including his inquisitiveness and

his "groping toward science" through his education at home, with tutors, and at schools in Boulogne, Geneva, and Bonn, see my introduction and *Eclipse*, 67–71. Also see Grohskopf, "Boyhood Letters of William James"; Bjork, *William James*, 22–32; Simon, *Genuine Reality*, 44–73; and Robert Richardson, *William James*, 11–40.

7. [Notebook 1], 3; [Notebook 2], 21–22; Emerson, "Persian Poetry," in *Letters and Social Aims*, 245. I am grateful to Robert Richardson, who, in *William James*, 532, points out James's reading of Emerson for the source of these and other quotations I had referred to without this context in *Eclipse*, 75–76. On conatus, see my introduction, note 19.

8. [Notebook 3], (October 1, 1862), [1]; *The Holy Bible*, King James Version, book of Ezekiel, 2:3–4, 3:17; Matthew, 26:64, 16:13.

9. [Notebook 3], [1]; Emerson, "Give All to Love" (1847), in *Collected Poems and Translations*, 72–73.

10. [Notebook 3], [1–2].

11. "Remarks on Spencer's Definition of Mind as Correspondence," EPH, 7; "Sentiment of Rationality," WB, 74–75. This portion of "Sentiment" first appeared as "Rationality, Activity, and Faith," *Princeton Review* (July 1882), 71. Hollinger, "Tonic Destruction"; Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University*, 97; and *Eclipse*, 187.

12. William James to Katharine Temple, August 3, [1864], CWJ, 4:91–92; *Eclipse*, 77–81; and Blake, "The Smile," in *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, 482–83. Kittelstrom, *The Religion of Democracy*, 4, also notices that James's symptoms mingled physical and immaterial elements. On his study of Winslow, see my chapter 1, note 37; and on his nonenlistment, see Croce, "Calming the Screaming Eagle."

13. William to Alice James, March 5, [1865], CWJ, 4:97; Beard, *A Practical Treatise*, 92. On neurasthenia, see my chapter 2, notes 69–71; and on Minny Temple, see chapter 3, note 64.

14. William James to his parents, April 21, [1865], CWJ, 4:100–101.

15. William James to his parents and to Mary James, October 21, [1865]; December 9, [18]65, CWJ, 4:128, 131–32.

16. William James to Thomas Ward, June 8, [18]66; March 27, [18]66, CWJ, 4:139, 140, 137.

17. William to Alice James, December 25, [18]66, CWJ, 4:149. On his European trip, see chapter 2.

18. William to Garth Wilkinson James, May 20, [1866]; to Alice James, April 27, [1867]; to Thomas Ward, Jan[uar]y [7, 18]68; to Henry Bowditch, [October 14, 1868]; Nov[ember] 27, [1868], CWJ, 4:138, 158, 251, 348; William James, "The Energies of Men" (1907), ERM, 131, 137, 136, 141. On the role of crises in water-cure and other sectarian practices, see chapter 2; and on neurasthenia and James's experiences with this diagnosis, see chapter 2, notes 69–71.

19. William James to Thomas Ward, Dec[ember] 10, [18]68]; and to Henry James, Junior, June 27, 1867, CWJ, 4:351, 1:16. Simon, *Genuine Reality*, 97–102, describes James's depression emerging from failed relations with women with little attention to his awkward hopes for marriage in the years before he met his future wife, Alice Howe Gibbens.

20. William to Alice James, August 31, [1865]; and to Thomas Ward, March 27, [18]66, CWJ, 4:118, 120, 137; and [Notebook 4], 115.

21. William to Mary James, June 12, [18]67; to his family, July 24, [18]67; to Henry James, Junior, Ap[ri]l 5, [18]68; to Alice James, Oct[ober] 17, [18]67, and to James family, July 24, [18]67, CWJ, 4:176–77, 183, 215, 183; 1:45. Also see Giles Gunn, introduction to CWJ, 4:ixx–xxiv, xli–xlii; Robert Coles, introduction to CWJ, 7:xxxiv; George Garrison and Edward Madden, "William James—Warts and All"; Ross Posnock, "The Influence of William James," in Ruth Anna Putnam, *The Cambridge Companion to William James*, 324; and Miller, "William James and Ethnic Thought." Also see my introduction, note 16, and chapter 1, notes 48–49.

22. William James to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, May 15, 1868, CWJ, 4:299, 300; and to Alice James, [February 18, 1867], Strouse, *Alice James*, 110.

23. William James to Thomas Ward, May 24, 1868, CWJ, 4:305; [Diary 1], May 22, [1868], 54–55; and to Katharine Temple, August 3, [1864], CWJ, 4:91–92. He also used the word "crisis" without urgency in July of that year: see chapter 2, note 59, and chapter 4, note 1 in this chapter.

24. James, [Diary 1], May 22, [1868], 54–55; James to Thomas Ward, May 24, 1868, CWJ, 4:306.

25. [Diary 1], May 27, [1868], 56–57, 53.

26. Ibid., May 22, [1868], 55.

27. Ibid., May 27, [1868], 57.

28. Ibid., 57–58.

29. Ibid., April 21, May 27, May 1, [1868], 37, 58, 51, 57, 51, 55; PU, 41.

30. Ibid., May 27, [1868], 58; William James to Thomas Ward, May 24, 1868, CWJ, 4:309; and PRG, 6, 1, 137.

31. William James to Thomas Ward, May 24, 1868; to Catherine Havens, June 17, [18]68, CWJ, 4:306, 309, 320; and WB, 29. His letters to Havens continued until December 22, 1877, CWJ, 4:507–8, 516–17, 520–22, 533–35, 539–40, 554–57, 573, 587–88.

32. Henry Bowditch to William James, Sept[ember]14, [1869]; James to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, May 15, 1868; William to Robertson James, Nov[ember] 14, [18]69, CWJ, 4: 387, 302, 389–90; Larson, *Sex, Race, and Science*, 18–21; Reilly, *The Surgical Solution*, 9–10; and Zenderland, *Measuring Minds*. Lewis, *The Jameses*, mentions James's "impulse to postpone the marriage relation as long as possible" (279) in reference to the exaggerated length of his courtship with Alice Gibbens in 1877–78, not to his vow not to marry starting in 1869.

33. William to Robertson James, Nov[ember] 14, [18]69; and to Thomas Ward, March 14, [18]70, CWJ, 4:390, 391, 403; and Beard, *A Practical Treatise*, 128. On James's sexual references, see Simon, *Genuine Reality*, 103; Strout, "William James and the Twice-Born Sick Soul," 1067; Sander Gilman, *Disease and Representation*, 74–78; Lewis, *The Jameses*, 201; Capps, "'That Shape Am I,'" in *The Struggle for Life*, 91; Townsend, *Manhood at Harvard*, 52; and see Paul Croce, "Mannered Memory" for evaluation of these interpretations.

34. William James, review of Horace Bushnell, *Women's Suffrage: The Reform against Nature* and John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women*, ECR, 251, 247, 248,

252, 255, 251, 255, 250. On James and gender, see note 90 in this chapter; my introduction, note 17; and chapter 1, note 32.

35. Henry James, Junior, to Elizabeth Boott, Jan[uary] 24, [1872], *Complete Letters of Henry James*, 2:429, 431; and William James to Henry Bowditch, Aug[ust] 12, [18]69, CWJ, 4:384.

36. Alice Gibbens to William James, [June 26, 1898]; William James to John Jay Chapman, Sept[ember 26], 1904; to Pauline Goldmark, Oct[ober] 20, 1906; Feb[ruary] 8, 1906; Sept[ember] 16, 1905, CWJ, 8:380; 10:480; 11:279, 171, 11:99. Also see Bjork, *William James*, 91–106; Lewis, *The Jameses*, 268–88; Simon, *Genuine Reality*, 151–67; Robert Richardson, *William James*, 349–53; Fisher, *House of Wits*, 326–32, 347–50, 362–67; and Gunter, *Alice in Jamesland*.

37. William to Robertson James, Sept[ember] 24, [18]72; June 22, [18]72; July 25, [18]70; June 22, [18]72, CWJ, 4:430, 423–24, 408, 422; PPS, 1053; Fragments of Early Courses (1875–85), ML, 124–25; Beard, *A Practical Treatise*, 101, 103, and *Sexual Neurasthenia*, 23. Fisher, *House of Wits*, 578, 313–14, proposes, without references, that James "suffered off and on from impotence," but he does not refer to spermatorrhœa and its relation to diagnoses about depleted energy.

38. Robertson to William James, April 6, [1873]; William to Robertson James, Ap[ri]l 20, [1873, CWJ, 4:433, 434.

39. William James to Catherine Havens, Feb[ruar]y 24, [18]69 (my translation of the French original); and to Thomas Ward, March [18]69, CWJ, 4:369, 370–71; and Hadot, *Inner Citadel*, 101. On James's relation to Stoicism, see chapter 3.

40. [Diary 1], Dec[ember] 21, [1869], [75–76].

41. William to Mary James, June 12, [18]67 (with the phrase repeated in a letter to Alice James, July 10, 1867); to Henry James, Senior, Sept[ember] 5, [18]67; to Thomas Ward, Nov[ember] 7, [18]67; Jan[uar]y, [7, 18]68; to Alice James, March 16, [18]68; and to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, May 15, 1868, CWJ, 4:175, 179, 194, 224, 248, 265, 300, 304.

42. William James quoting Heinrich Heine, letter to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, Jan[uar]y 3, [18]68 (my translation of the German original); to Thomas Ward, Sept[ember 10], 1867; Jan[uar]y [7, 18]68; May 24, 1868; Oct[ober] 9, [1868]; and to Henry James, Junior, May 7, [18]70, CWJ, 4:244, 198, 251, 310, 347; 1:159, 160.

43. William James to Henry Bowditch, May 22, [1869], CWJ, 4:378.

44. William James to Henry Bowditch, Aug[ust] 12, [18]69; and to Henry James, Junior, Oct[ober] 25, [1869], CWJ, 4:383, 1:114; Pascal, *Pensées* [Thoughts], no. 411; "Vacations" (1873), ECR, 3–7; Kolakowski, *God Owes Us Nothing*; and Wetsel, *Pascal and Disbelief*.

45. William James to Henry Bowditch, Aug[ust] 12, [18]69; and to Henry James, Junior, Oct[tober] 2, [18]69, CWJ, 4:383, 1:100; Beard, *American Nervousness*, 210; and [Diary 1], c. 1870.

46. VRE, 341; Pomfret notes, c. 1869–70, in TCJ, 1:301; and Robert Richardson, *William James*, 124. Perry says the notes were written about August 1869 (TCJ, 1:301); Richardson, *William James*, 544, suggests the following year. Few other commentators mention Pomfret or these notes.

47. Pomfret notes, (my translation of the French original), in TCJ, 1:301.

48. MT, 123–24.

49. William James to Henry James, Junior, Jan[uar]y 19, [18]70, CWJ, 1:140; MT, 123–24; PRG, 43; and to Alice Howe Gibbens, [October 6, 1876], CWJ, 4:547. Paul Croce, "Between Spiritualism and Science," 212, summarizes various versions of this distinction between "fighting faith" and "comforting faith" (TCJ, 2:324) as presented by interpreters of James's religious thought; none of these includes his first commitment to this distinction in his 1869 diary.

50. Pomfret notes, in TCJ, 1:301–2.

51. William to Robertson James, [October 1869]; to Charles Ritter, 1 Decembre [18]69 (my translation of the French original); and to Henry Bowditch, Dec[ember] 29, [18]69, CWJ, 4:388, 393, 394, 399. In light of his comments relating mental state and back pain, Simon, *Genuine Reality*, calls "William's back the barometer of his emotional state" (115), which points toward the mingling of body and mind emerging in his thought.

52. William to Robertson James, Jan[uar]y 2, [18]70, CWJ, 4:400; [Diary 1], Jan[uar]y, 1, 1870, [77]; and to Henry James, Junior, Jan[uar]y 19, [18]70; May 7, [18]70, CWJ, 1:140, 159.

53. [Diary 1], Feb[ruar]y 1, 1870, [79–80]. A portion of this entry is also in TCJ, 1:322.

54. Unpublished philosophical notes, [May 1873] (notes archived with William James to Alice Gibbens, June 7, [18]77, CWJ, 4:570–72); portions of these notes are in TCJ, 1:322–23, but without citation, and in Bjork, *William James*, 103, and the editors of the *Correspondence* refer to them as "fragments" with "reflections on the mystery of existence" (CWJ, 4:572); and James to Catherine Havens, Feb[ruar]y 24, [18]69, CWJ, 4:369 (my translation of the French original).

55. William to Henry James, Jan[uar]y 19, [18]70, CWJ, 1:140; James, [Diary 1], May 27, [1868]; and shortly before February 1869, 59, [72–73]; Moreau's *Du Haschisch et de l'aliénation mentale*, and *La Psychologie morbide*; Noll, "Jacques Moreau de Tours"; Marianne Weber, *J. J. Moreau de Tours*; Eugene Taylor, *William James on Exceptional Mental States*, 150–53; VRE, 22, 190–91; Taves, "Religious Experience and the Divisible Self"; Boring, *A History of Experimental Psychology*, 707; and Kelly, *The Psychology of the Unconscious*.

56. [Diary 1], March 9, 1870, [81] (Minny Temple actually died March 8); Henry James, Junior, to William James, March 29, [1870]; and William to Henry James, Junior, May 7, [18]70, CWJ, 1:153, 157, 153, 159.

57. [Diary 1], March 22, 1870, [82]; Habegger, "New Light"; *The Upanishads*, 133–34. Robert Richardson, *William James*, 112–13, 413–14, was the first to evaluate the Vedic presence in James's diary entry; he emphasizes the mystical side of James's insight, without relating it to his struggling impulses for moral effort. And David Leary, "New Insights into William James's Personal Crisis, . . . Part I," points out that James likely read the Vedic words in Arthur Schopenhauer (9, 13), who was another resource for his alternative spiritual thinking.

58. William James to Thomas Ward, March 14, [18]70; and to Henry James, Junior, May 7, [18]70, CWJ, 4:404; 1:159, 158. James continued to be outraged with Milne-Edwards; [Notebook 26], c. 1870, in the entry "Edwards, H. Milne," arranged not by page but alphabetically by entry title.

59. [Diary 1], Ap[ri]l 30, [1870], [82]; Perry quotes much of this diary entry: LWJ, 1:147–48; William to Henry James, Senior, Oct[ober] 5, [18]68, CWJ, 4:342. William James was particularly influenced by Renouvier's first part ("L'Homme et ses fonctions constituants") of the second essay (*Traité de psychologie rationnelle d'après les principles du criticisme*, tome premier) in *Essais de critique générale*; see especially chap. 13, "La Liberté: État de la question; solution provisoire," 305–31. Also see Devaux, "Variétés: À propos du 'Renouvierisme' de William James," 396; J. Alexander Gunn, *Modern French Philosophy*; Wilbur Long, "The Philosophy of Charles Renouvier"; Logue, *Charles Renouvier*; and Brooks, *The Eclectic Legacy*.

60. James to Charles Renouvier, 2 Nov[em]bre, [18]72, CWJ, 4:430 (translated in TCJ, I:662); Viney, "William James on Free Will," 34, 36, 47; James, review of Bain and Renouvier, ECR, 325; and "Sentiment of Rationality," EPH,32–64. Viney, "William James on Free Will," and "The American Reception of Jules Lequyer," shows the influence of Lequyer's commitment to free will on Renouvier, which contributed a dimension more spiritual than in the secular Renouvier to James's understanding; and see Paul Croce, "Mannered Memory," for review of interpretations about Renouvier's influence and its timing in relation to James's "crisis," and Logue, *Charles Renouvier*, 31, for doubts about the extent of Lequyer's influence on Renouvier. Also see Viney, "Jules Lequyer and the Openness of God."

61. As a child, James read Rodolphe Töpffer's *Voyages en Zigzag* (1855), a whimsical adventure story, while he was traveling with his family many times across the Atlantic; Robert Richardson, *William James*, notes that he "became everlastingly fond of the term" (20); and Jeremy Carrette, in "Growing Up Zig-Zag," in Halliwell and Rasmussen, *William James and the Transatlantic Conversation*, uses the term as a metaphor for both his transatlantic childhood and his attention to philosophical relations in his mature theories. The term also applies to James's youthful path through times of struggle and resignation, and the zigzag imagery also shows his halting steps toward integration of dual contrast in realms material and immaterial that would set the stage for his mature comprehension of philosophical relations.

62. [Diary 1], Ap[ri]l 30, [1870], [84].

63. Ibid., [83].

64. Ibid., [83–84]; also LWJ, 1:148; Bain, *The Emotions and the Will*, 568–70, 500–519; Rylance, *Victorian Psychology*, 147–202; O'Donnell, *The Origins of Behaviorism*, 80–83; *Eclipse*, 185, 152, 208–09; Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 201–32; and Dixon, "The Psychology of the Emotions," 303. Since his own time, James has persistently been charged with promoting unfounded beliefs; see Dickenson Miller, "The Will to Believe and the Duty to Doubt"; and Bertrand Russell, *The Duty to Doubt*.

65. [Diary 1], Ap[ri]l 30, [1870], [84–85].

66. [Notebook 1], [1859], 61; [Diary 1], Ap[ri]l 30, [1870], [83]; and for evaluation of his earlier youthful pledges, see *Eclipse*, 69–77.

67. William to Henry James, Junior, May 7, [18]70, CWJ, 1:159; and to Robertson James, July 25, [18]70, CWJ, 4:410, 408.

68. William to Robertson James, July 25, [18]70, CWJ, 4:409; James, "The Energies of Men," ERM, 130; and Hadot, *Inner Citadel*, 101.

69. Henry James, Junior, to Elizabeth Boott, Jan[uary] 24, [1872], *Complete Letters of Henry James*, 2:431; William James to his family, May 30, [1872], CWJ, 4:422; *Eclipse*, 171–72, 284–85, nn. 61–62; and Edward Madden, *Chauncey Wright*, 43–50, which deals with one side of this sparring relationship, in his emphasis on Wright as a check on James's religious impulses. On the discussion group, see Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*; and for earlier evaluations, see *Eclipse*, part III.

70. James, "Against Nihilism" (1873–75), MEN, 150–55; and see his other early reflections on the relation of empiricism and idealism in "Miscellanea I: Mostly Concerning Empiricism" (1870–73), MEN, 133–39; Polanyi and Prosch, *Meaning*, 162–63; see my chapter 3, note 84.

71. James, "Against Nihilism" (1873–75), MEN, 154; VRE, 170,190.

72. William James to his family, May 30, [1972]; and to Henry James, Junior, Aug[ust] 24, [18]72; Oct[tober 10, 18]72, CWJ, 4:422; 1:165, 173, 174; and "Great Men and Their Environment," WB, 171.

73. [Diary 1], April 10, [1873], [88–89], also quoted in TCJ, 1:343–44. On "The Rise of Secularism," see *Eclipse*, 10–17.

74. [Diary 1], April 10, [1873], [90], [88], [83], [84], [85]; William James to Henry James, Junior, May 7, [18]70; to Robertson James, July 25, [18]70; to Daniel Coit Gilman, May 4, [1878]; and to Charles Eliot Norton, Nov[ember] 14, [1864], CWJ, 1:159, 4:409, 5:4, 4:94. James's approach to free will as a position needing faith shows his awareness of skeptical and scientific challenges to its plausibility. From Spencer, such as in his *Principles of Psychology*, to Sam Harris, in *Free Will*, as an example in our time, science-oriented theorists with naturalistic philosophies have maintained that apparent free will can be understood in terms of physical factors and explained with sufficient natural knowledge; James perceived that these scientific ambitions themselves rested on faith in progress and that natural complexities surpass human capacities.

75. [Notebook 2], 20.

76. [Diary 1], April 10, [1873], [87–88], [88–89], [89–90]. Leary, "New Insights into William James's Personal Crisis, . . . Part I," calls James's 1870 "return to Renouvier's texts . . . booster shots" (23), and the same could be said of James's 1873 verbal reinforcements of his hopes for injecting freedom into his convictions.

77. [Diary 1], Ap[ri]l 30, [1870], [88]; "The Dilemma of Determinism" (1884), WB, 139, 140. On James's "third path" approach to teleology, see my introduction, note 22; chapter 3, note 84; and notes 70–71 in this chapter. On pragmatism as an alternative and third way, see Bernstein, *The Pragmatic Turn*, 106–24, and *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism*, 223; Haack, *Manifesto of a Passionate Moderate*, 23–25; and Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*, 3–63. Charles Taylor portrays James in this spirit, as a "philosopher of the cusp"; see my introduction, note 25.

78. [Diary 1], Ap[ri]l 30, [1870], [85]; WB, 18.

79. Winslow, *On Obscure Diseases*, 267, 281, and see my chapter 1, note 37; Huxley, "Physical Basis of Life" (1868), and "The Hypothesis That Animals Are Automata" (1874), in *Methods and Results*, 130–65. On du Bois-Reymond, see my chapter 2, notes 21–23, 30; *Eclipse*, 10–17; and Bowler, *Monkey Trials and Gorilla Sermons*, 30–78.

80. "Are We Automata?" (1879), EPS, 38–61; ECR, 296; review of Wundt, ECR, 300; Araujo, *Wundt and the Philosophical Foundations of Psychology*, 127, 161; Steffens,

Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens, 149–50. Also see Ribot, *German Psychology of To-day*, 188–248; Boring, *A History*, 316–44, 505–17; Woodward and Ash, *The Problematic Science*, especially 1–14, 167–97; essays in Koch and Leary, *A Century of Psychology*, especially Sigmund Koch, "Wundt's Creature," 8–18, Stephen Toulmin and David Leary, "The Culture of Empiricism in Psychology, and Beyond," 594–617; O'Donnell, *The Origins of Behaviorism*, especially 29–41; Danziger, *Constructing the Subject*, especially 34–48; Rieber and Robinson, *Wilhelm Wundt in History*; and Paul Croce, "Physiology as the Antechamber to Metaphysics."

81. Jackson, "On the Anatomical and Physiological Localisation of Movements in the Brain" (1873), in *Selected Writings*, 1:49; Laycock, *Mind and Brain*; Roger Smith, *Inhibition*, 35, 79; Gregory, *Scientific Materialism*, 102; and *Eclipse*, 270, 108, 137. Years later, novelist Caleb Carr even gave a cameo appearance to James advocating free will in his novel, *The Alienist*, 56–59, in debate with the main character, Laszlo Kreizler, who supports the insanity defense based on cutting-edge scientific skepticism about free will because of bodily and social "contexts" shaping personal choices.

82. Henry James, Senior, to Henry James, Junior, Mar[ch] 18, 1873, LWJ, 1:170; William James, teaching "Psychology," Phil[osophy]. 5 (1880–81), reported by student George Albert Burdett, "Notes in Philosophy 5," 122.

83. Charles Peirce, "The Fixation of Belief" (1877) and "How to Make Our Ideas Clear" (1878), *Popular Science Monthly*, in *Writings of Peirce*, 3:242–57, 257–76; EPH, 7–22, 32–64; and William to Henry James, Junior, Nov[ember] 24, [18]72, CWJ, 1:177. On Peirce's essays, see *Eclipse*, 204–22; and the recent collection, Charles Peirce, *Illustrations of the Logic of Science*. On the origins of pragmatism, see *Eclipse*, 207–15; Thayer, *Meaning and Action*, 143–45; John Smith, *Purpose and Thought*, 195–97; William James, *The Writings of William James*, 817; and Gerald Myers, *William James*, 89, 270, 294.

84. Notes for Philosophy 9: Metaphysics (1905–6), ML, 347, 366–67; PRG, 117 (quoting F. C. S. Schiller); WB, 6; PRG, 258; PU, 145, 20; and PRG, 97.

85. James to Thomas Ward, Dec[ember] 30, [18]76; to Alice Gibbens [July 20, 1877]; and to Henry James, Junior, May 25, [18]73, CWJ, 4:552, 577–78, and 1:209.

86. James to Daniel Coit Gilman, April 23, [1877]; and to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, May 15, 1868, CWJ, 4:558, 4:302; Cope, "William James's Correspondence with Daniel Coit Gilman"; Johns Hopkins and Lowell Lectures, ML, 3–16, 16–43; and Robert Richardson, *William James*, 141–47, 168–76. Also see O'Donnell, *Origins of Behaviorism*, 91–105; Feinstein, *Becoming William James*, 316–29; Paul Croce, "Physiology as the Antechamber to Metaphysics"; Daniel Wilson, *Science, Community, and the Transformation of American Philosophy*; and Bordogna, *William James at the Boundaries*.

87. William to Henry James, Junior, May 25, [18]73; Sept[ember] 2, [18]73; Dec[ember] 12, [18]75, CWJ, 1:209, 219, 247.

88. William to Alice Gibbens James, May 13, 1888; [October 9, 1876], CWJ, 4:547; Simon, *Genuine Reality*, 155; and Henry James, Junior, to William, May 29, [1878], CWJ, 1:303. Perry, TCJ, 1:375, says Thomas Davidson introduced Alice to William in 1876; and Gunter, in *Alice in Jamesland*, 45, suggests he may have met her himself; and see note 36 in this chapter.

89. William James, [Fragments of Early Courses], 1875–85, ML, 125–26; Chapman, *Memories and Milestones*, 26; James to James Leuba, Apr[il] 17, 1904, LWJ, 2:212; and to Alice Gibbens James, July 9, 1898, CWJ, 8:390. On James's later crises, see Myers, *William James*, 51; Seigfried, *James's Radical Reconstruction*; Oliver, *William James's "Springs of Delight,"* 88; Barnard, *Exploring Unseen Worlds*, 18–66; and Paul Croce, "Spilt Mysticism."

90. William to Henry James, Junior, July 14, [1873]; Nov[ember] 14, [18]75 CWJ, 1:215, 243.

91. William to Henry James, Junior, July 5, [1876]; Henry to William James, CWJ, 1:268, 169; and Henry James, *The American*, 69–70.

92. Eugene Taylor, *James on Exceptional Mental States*, 15; VRE, 134, 135; and Paul Croce, "Mannered Memory."

93. James, VRE, 135, 134, 135n; Henry James, Senior, *Society the Redeemed Form of Man*, 43–54. James was also likely referring to his father in a case culminating in a strong "sense of *guilt*," which he described with reference to Swedenborg; VRE, 164n. For more comparisons of the "crises" of father and son, see Warren, *The Elder Henry James*, 59–86; Young, *The Philosophy of Henry James, Senior*, 29–65; Feinstein, *Becoming William James*, 241–45; Henry James, Senior, *Society the Redeemed Form of Man*, quoted in *Henry James, Senior: A Selection*, 56; Latham, "Henry James Senior's Mrs. Chichester"; Habegger, *The Father*, 227–40; King, *Iron of Melancholy*, 140; Robert Richardson, *William James*, 117–18; Fisher, *House of Wits*, 81–84, 225, 270–71; and *Eclipse*, 32, 49–53.

94. James, VRE, 134; and to Frank Abauzit, June 1, 1904, VRE, 508. James's letter admitting the identity of the French correspondent first appeared in Théodore Flournoy's *La Philosophie de William James*, 149.

95. William to Henry James, Junior, Dec[ember] 5, [18]69, CWJ, 1:128; VRE, 163, 134, 164. The conventional wisdom is that the story is an actual account of James at some particular time between 1869 and 1873: for example, Lewis, *The Jameses*, 201–2, states that "it occurred in fact in" 1870 and in a particular place, the second-floor dressing room of the James house in Cambridge; in correspondence, David Leary has suggested that the story is from James's diary itself, but later torn out, and in fact the diary entry for Ap[ri]l 30, [1870] has a torn page where it "ends" (see those last extant words referenced in note 65 in this chapter). And in "New Insights into William James's Personal Crisis," Leary argues for the specificity of the crisis with careful evaluation of James's reading of Arthur Schopenhauer and John Bunyan, which has added considerably to the "full accounting" of James's crises, with his intellectual, social, personal, medical, and vocational issues (4, 11). Simon, *Genuine Reality*, 127; and Menand, "William James and the Case of the Epileptic Patient," in *American Studies*, 22–23, raise questions about the full authenticity of the story. Paul Croce, "Mannered Memory," provides an overview of interpretations about James's story.

96. VRE, 135; on his early interests in medicine and psychology, see my chapter 2; Dickenson Miller, *Philosophical Analysis*, 50. On James's possible stay at McLean Asylum, see Kazin, "William James: To Be Born Again," 248; Richards, *Darwin and the Emergence of Evolutionary Theories*, 415; Townsend, *Manhood at Harvard*, 43; Simon, *Genuine Reality*, 121–22; and Menand, *American Studies*, 22–23.

97. VRE, 134 (emphasis in original); Simon, *Genuine Reality*, offers a contrasting view, based on later medical research, that "epilepsy . . . could not be cured by strengthening a patient's will." James is two steps removed from the epileptic patient: he invents the character who then imagines the patient. Simon identifies James not only with the Frenchman but also with the asylum patient he was observing; and she depicts James, like the epileptic, "at the mercy of his own biology" (125).

98. James, VRE, 134, 135. David Leary emphasizes that this account shows James's "deep sympathy for those who find relief and comfort in religion"; Leary, personal correspondence, December 21, 2015.

99. Dickenson Miller, *Philosophical Analysis*, 50; introduction to *Literary Remains*, ERM, 60–63; and VRE, 135, 136, 400. Fisher, in *House of Wits*, provides rich accounts of Mary James; also see James Anderson, "In Search of Mary James."

100. MT, 123; VRE, 135; to Catherine Walsh, Sept[ember] 13, [18]68; to Robertson James, Aug[ust] 1, [18]71; Sept[ember] 2, [18]73, CWJ, 4:336 (emphasis in original), 421, 444; "Questionnaire"; [Diary 1], May 1, [1868], 49 (prayer likely based on Friedrich Schiller's words). Also see Lang, *Sacred Games*, 125–31; and Paul Croce, "Spilt Mysticism."

In his argument for the importance of these scripture texts for James's resolution of his crisis, Leary, in "New Insights into William James's Personal Crisis in the Early 1870s: Part II. John Bunyan and the Resolution and Consequences of the Crisis," points out James's affection for the Bible (29), but also points out that James admired religion, including Christianity, especially for its psychological function (29, 34). In addition, Leary argues that "these biblical phrases were uttered less in 'prayer' of the usual sort than as a desperate cry for help"; Leary, personal correspondence.

101. VRE, 366, 409; to Alice Howe Gibbens, [October 9, 1876], CWJ, 4:547; and to Henry Rankin, June 16, 1901, CWJ, 9:502.

102. "Sentiment of Rationality," EPH, 56; VRE, 7; and see VRE, 25 (James quoting the Bible, King James version, Matthew, 7:20).

103. CWJ, 9:186; Freud, "Screen Memories," 307, 308, 322; WB, 6; PRG, 258; and PU, 145.

104. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*, 26, 4, 25; Hughes, *Consciousness and Society*, 33–66; and *Eclipse*, 3–17.

105. PRG, 123.

Conclusion. An Earnestly Inquiring State

Epigraph. William to Henry James, Junior, Nov[ember] 1, [18]69, CWJ, 1:120.

1. William to Alice Gibbens James, Feb[ruary] 27, [18]83; to Sarah Whitman, June 17, [18]91; and to Henry Rankin, June 12, 1897, CWJ, 5:429, 7:171, 8:275.

2. Wyman, Mark. *Round-Trip to America*; "The Dilemma of Determinism" (1884), WB 114–15; "One word about Free-will," lecture at Harvard Divinity School (1884), WB 334, 383.

3. PU, 84; Palmer, "William James," in Simon, *Remembering William James*, 32; and PRG, 92.

4. "The Sentiment of Rationality," in EPH, 32, 63.

5. Ibid., 64. "Remarks on Spencer's Definition of Mind"; "Quelques Considérations sur la method subjective" [Some Reflections on the Subjective Method] (1878), EPH,

7–22, 23–31 [331–38]; "Brute and Human Intellect"; "Are We Automata?"; EPS, 1–37, 38–61; "The Sentiment of Rationality," EPH, 32–64; and Mach, *Analysis of the Sensations*, 151, 156, 164.

6. PPS, 6; Myers, *James*, 55, 192, 294; O'Donnell, *Origins of Behaviorism*, 92, 99.

7. WB, 7–8; VRE, 170, 402; "Against Nihilism," MEN, 154; ERE, 4, 18, 42; [Notebook 3], 59; PRG, 9, 14, 13; PU, 142; EPR; review of Morgan, ECR, 309; and PU, 153.

8. "Philosophical Conceptions and Practical Results," PRG, 258; James to Edgar Van Winkle, March 1, 1858; and to Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior, May 15, 1868, CWJ, 4:14, 298.

9. Wertheimer, *A Brief History of Psychology*, 44; Damasio, *Self Comes to Mind*, 5; and "The Sentiment of Rationality," EPH, 55, 56. Also see chapter 2, note 22, and introduction, note 19.

10. "Panpsychism," MEN, 179; introduction to *Literary Remains*, ERM, 60–63; Wild, *The Radical Empiricism of William James*, 89; Fontinell, *Self, God, and Immortality*, 143–61, especially 261; Ford, *William James's Philosophy*, 4; Taylor, *William James on Consciousness beyond the Margin*; Barnard, *Exploring Unseen Worlds*, 251–57, especially 154; Lamberth, *James and the Metaphysics of Experience*, 146–202; Ramsey, *Submitting to Freedom*, 81; and see kindred evaluations in Bradford, "Practical Theism"; Gavin, *Reinstatement of the Vague*, 45; Frankenberry, *Religion and Radical Empiricism*, 28, 48; Oliver, *James's "Springs of Delight"*; Cooper, *The Unity of James's Thought*; Suckiel, *Heaven's Champion*, 104–5; Edie, *James and Phenomenology*; Wilshire, *William James's Phenomenology*; "Introduction," in *William James: Essential Writings*; and *The Primal Roots of American Philosophy*; Pratt, *Native Pragmatism*; Skrbina, *Panpsychism in the West*, 145–50; and Rasmussen, "James, *A Pluralistic Universe*, and the Ancient Quarrel," Slater, "James's Critique of Absolute Idealism," and Pihlström, "Jamesian Pragmatic Pluralism," in Halliwell and Rasmussen, *William James and the Transatlantic Conversation*. Also see my introduction, note 21. Other commentators have been critical or dismissive of James's spiritual ideas and theories of mind and body in relation; see Lewis, in *The Jameses*, who makes puzzled mention of James's interest in the Stoic "soul of the world," which he calls a "strange mystical Marcus Aurelian entity" (193); Rorty, in "Dewey between Hegel and Darwin," in Ross, *The Modernist Impulse*, charges James's panpsychic interests with leading him away from pragmatism, "down the garden path of radical empiricism" (61); and Myers considers James's radical empiricism at best "visionary" (*James*, 321), judging it "a frustrating project" that "fails" to integrate the "subjective and objective" because they are "incompatible properties" (310). These recent interpretations echo evaluations in his own time: James received support from Charles Strong, *Why the Mind Has a Body*, 123, 155, and criticism from Lightner Witmer, "Mental Healing and the Emmanuel Movement," and "Is the Psychology Taught at Harvard a National Peril?"

11. James to Charles Eliot Norton, Nov[ember] 14, [1864]; PRG, 81; "Confidences of a 'Psychical Researcher' " (1909), EPR, 375; "The Hidden Self" (1890), EPS, 249 (italics in original); and Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*, 163, 166, 309, 393, 394.

12. James to Alice Howe Gibbens, June 7, [18]77, CWJ, 4:571; [Diary 1], April 30, 1870, [90].

13. James, review of Lewes, in ECR, 307; PPS, 236; Cooper, *The Unity of William James's Thought*, 34; Bordogna, *William James at the Boundaries*, 4, 7; and Paul Croce, "Non-Disciplinary William James." Also see my introduction.

14. James, review of Lewes, in ECR, 307; SPP, 32–33; and VRE, 269, 33.

15. James to Henry Rankin, June 12, 1897; to Sarah Whitman, Sept[ember] 18, 1902; and to Alice Gibbens James, June 28, [18]98, CWJ, 8:275, 10:128, 8:383; and PU, 10. Also see Bjork, *William James*, 93, 181–82, 193–201; Simon, *Genuine Reality*, 156–58; and Graham, *The Adirondack Park*, 40–43.

16. William James to Alice Gibbens James, July 9, 1898; and to Pauline Goldmark, August 12, 1899, CWJ, 8:391, 9:22. Croce, in "Spilt Mysticism," evaluates the Adirondacks experience in relation to James's mystical ideas and to interpretations about his religious views; Robert Richardson, in *William James*, traces the course of his heart disease, with the first small hints of it appearing in 1893 (330, 337, 375–76, 382, 388, 395, 419, 483, 492, 513, 515, 520–21).

17. William James to Sarah Whitman, July 23, 1900; Dec[ember] 26, 1900; and June 20, 1904; and to John Jay Chapman, Sept[ember] 26, 1904, CWJ, 9:258, 396; 10:416, 479.

18. ERE 120, 47; William James to Sarah Whitman, Aug[ust] 22, 1903; and Whitman to James, [June 24, 1902] CWJ, 10:295, 67.

19. William James to Sarah Whitman, Aug[ust] 22, 1903, CWJ, 10:295; PPS, 573–74 (referring to Clay, *The Alternative*); WB, 6 (also quoting Blood, *The Flaw in Supremacy*); PRG, 258; and PU, 145; and Whitman, "William James."

Archival Sources

Bunker, Clarence. Class notes of James's Philosophy 2: Psychology, Harvard University Archives, HUC 8889.3404, 1887–88.

Burdett, George Albert. "Notes in Philosophy 5," Harvard University Archives, HUC 8889.370.4, 1880–81.

A Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Harvard University for the Academic Year, 1861–62. Cambridge, MA: Sever and Francis, 1861.

A Catalogue of the Offices and Students of Harvard University for the Academic Year, 1863–64. Cambridge, MA: Sever and Francis, 1863.

A Catalogue of the Offices and Students of Harvard University for the Academic Year, 1866–67. Cambridge, MA: Sever and Francis, 1866.

Harper, Robert S. "That Early Laboratory of William James." Harvard University Archives, Pusey Library, HUG 1466.439, 1949.

Hocking, William Ernest. Class Notes of James's Philosophy 6: Psychology of Religion Hocking Collection, Harvard University Archives, box 105, 1901–2.

James, William. William James papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, bMS Am 1092.2:

(28): drawing, "Die Kalt Wasser Cur zu Divonne"

(63): William James, drawing of "Garth Wilkinson James's Return to Charleston Harbor."

(1185), #9: Walter Hunnewell, photograph of William James in Brazil after attack of small-pox, 1865.

(4448): [Notes on Immanuel Kant], c. 1860s–early 1870s.

(4473]: [Miscellaneous Notes], Oct[ober] 21, 1872.

(4474): Questionnaire [James's responses to question on religion from James B. Pratt], 1904) [published in LWJ, 2:214].

(4475) and (4476): Faith, n.d.

(4495): [Notebook 1], Geneva, Nov[ember] 16, 1859.

(4496): [Notebook 2], [Joseph] Lovering, Sept[ember] 23, 1862.

(4497): [Notebook 3]: Reading Notes & Observations; sketches, [1862–63]; the notebook is catalogued with the date 1863 based on notes by William James's son Henry James III in which he said "Dad had torn out a lot of pages."

(4498): [Notebook 4]: Z Brazilian diary; sketches, 1865.
(4499): [Notebook 5]: B Microscopic notebook, sketches, 1866.
(4500): [Notebook 6]: notes made in Florence, 1873.
(4501): [Notebook 7]: Misc.[ellanea I] 1870+ Sketches Empiricism J. S. Mill [published as "Miscellanea: Mostly Concerning Empiricism," 1870–73, in MEN, 133–42].
(4502): [Notebook 8]: "~~Cause~~ Philosophizing" [published in TCJ, 2:450, "soon after 1875," and published as [Note on Empiricism], 1876–77 [in MEN, 160–61].
(4503): [Notebook 9]: S 1870+ Idealism, etc. [published as Idealism, etc., 1870–73, in MEN, 142–50].
(4520): [Notebook 26]: no title, but the cover page includes these printed words: "Index of Subjects, Intended as a Manual to Aid the Student and the Professional Man in preparing himself for usefulness . . . 1863." James wrote "William James, Boston Nov[ember] 25th 1864," c. 1864–74.
(4532): [Notes on Charles Darwin], c. 1868.
(4533): [Notes on Goethe], c. 1887.
(4535): [Notes on Emil du Bois-Reymond], c. 1868.
(4549): Truth, Reality, etc., c. 1907.
(4550): [Diary 1], 1868–73.
(4553): [Diary 4], 1905.
(4568): "Anthropological Collection," n.d.

James Family Papers. Houghton Library, Harvard University, bMS Am 1094 1093.1–95.3.

Library Charging Lists. Harvard University Archives 50.15.60.

Temple, Mary. Letters to John Chipman Gray, Houghton Library, Harvard University, bMS Am1092.12, 1869–70.

Whitman, Sarah. "William James," 1903, HNA29, Harvard University Portrait Collection, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, http://www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/305285?position=8.

Published Primary Sources

Agassiz, Louis and Elizabeth Cary Agassiz. *A Journey in Brazil*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1868.

Alcott, Louisa May. *Alternative Alcott*. Edited by Elaine Showalter. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988.

——. *The Journals of Louisa May Alcott*. Edited by Joel Myerson et al. Boston: Little, Brown, 1989.

Anonymous. "Correspondence: What Is the Business of Scientific Men?" *Nation* 19 (1874): 420.

——. "Garth Wilkinson James." *Milwaukee Sentinel*, whole number 12,843 (November 17, 1883): 4.

——. "A Graphic Story." *Milwaukee Sentinel*, issue number 48 (December 2, 1883): 4.

Arnold, Matthew. *Essays in Criticism*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1866 [1865].

——. *God and the Bible: A Review of Objections to "Literature and Dogma."* New York: Macmillan, 1875.

Aurelius Antonius, Marcus. *Meditations* [To Myself]. Translated by Maxwell Staniforth. New York: Dorset Press, 1964 [170–80 CE].

Avenarius, Richard. *Kritik der reinen Erfahrung* [Critique of Pure Experience]. Leipzig: Fues, 1888–90.

Bain, Alexander. *The Emotions and the Will*. London: John W. Parker, 1859.

Bakewell, Charles M. "The Philosophy of George Herbert Palmer." In *George Herbert Palmer, 1842–1933: Memorial Addresses*, edited by Ernest Hocking, 3–43. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935.

Baldwin, John D. *Pre-historic Nations*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1869.

Beard, George M. "Neurasthenia, or Nervous Exhaustion." *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, n.s., 3 (April 29, 1869): 217–21.

———. *A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia), its Symptoms, Nature, Sequences, and Treatment*. Edited by A. D. Rockwell. 5th ed. New York: Kraus Reprint, 1971 [1880].

———. *American Nervousness, Its Causes and Consequences: A Supplement to* Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia). New York: Arno Press, 1972 [1881].

———. *Sexual Neurasthenia, its hygiene, causes, symptoms, and treatment, with a chapter on diet for the nervous*. New York: Arno, 1972 [1884].

Bellows, Albert. *Currents and Counter Currents in Medical Science: Oliver Wendell Holmes, M. D. Reviewed in an Address Delivered Before the Boston Academy of Homeopathic Medicine*. Boston: John M. Hewes, Printer, 1860.

Bernard, Claude. *An Introduction to the Study of Experimental Medicine*. Translated by Henry Copley Greene. New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1949 [1865].

Bigelow, Henry Jacob. "Medical Education in America." In *Surgical Anæsthesia: Addresses and Other Papers*, 279–341. Boston: Little, Brown, 1900.

Blake, William. *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*. Edited by David V. Erdman. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008 [1982].

Blood, Benjamin. *The Flaw in Supremacy*. Amsterdam, NY: n.p., 1893.

Brainerd, David. *Life and Diary of David Brainerd*. Edited by Jonathan Edwards and Philip E. Howard Jr. Chicago: Moody Press, 1949.

Brown, Hunter. *William James on Radical Empiricism and Religion*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Brown-Séquard. *Advice to Students: An Address Delivered at the Opening of the Medical Lectures of Harvard University, November 7, 1866*. Cambridge, MA: Press of John Wilson and Son, 1867.

Buber, Martin. *I and Thou*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1923.

———. "History of the Dialogical Principle." In *Between Man and Man*, translated by Ronald Gregor Smith and Maurice Friedman, 209–24. New York: Macmillan, 1965 [1947].

Büchner, Ludwig. *Force and Matter: Empirico-Philosophical Studies*. Edited and translated by J. Frederick Collingwood. London: J. Trübner, 1864 [1855].

Bunyan, John. "Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners." In *The Complete Works of John Bunyan*, edited by John Gulliver, 27–63. Philadelphia: Bradley, Garretson, 1874.

Bushnell, Horace. *Women's Suffrage: The Reform against Nature*. Charleston: Nabu Press, 2010 [1869].

Carr, Caleb. *The Alienist*. New York: Bantam Books, 1994.

Chapman, John Jay. *Memories and Milestones*. New York: Moffat, Yard, 1915.
Clay, Edmund. *The Alternative: A Study in Psychology*. London: Macmillan, 1882.
Clifford, William Kingdon. *Lectures and Essays*. 2nd ed. Edited by Leslie Stephen and Frederick Pollack. London: Macmillan, 1886 [1879].
Clough, Arthur Hugh. "The New Sinai" (1846). In *The Prose and Poem Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough, with a selection from his letters and a memoir*, vol. 2: *Poems*, edited by Blanche Smith Clough, 83–86. London: Macmillan, 1869.
Comte, Auguste. *Cours de philosophie positive*. Paris: Hermann, 1975 [1830–42].
———. *Introduction to Positive Philosophy*. Edited by Frederick Ferré. Indianapolis: Hackett, 1988.
Constant, Benjamin. *Du polythéisme romain* [Roman Polytheism]. Paris: Béchet aîné, 1833.
Cox, George W. *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*. London: Kegan Paul, 1887 [1870].
Crashaw, Richard. *The Complete Poems of Richard Crashaw*. Edited by George Walton Williams. New York: New York University Press, 1972 [1585].
Darwin, Charles. *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection; or, the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. London: J. Murray, 1859.
———. *The Expression of Emotions in Animal and Man*. New York: New York University Press, 1972 [1872].
———. *The Variation of Animals and Plants Under Domestication*. New York: D. Appleton, 1887.
———. *The Correspondence of Charles Darwin*. Edited by Frederick Burkhardt et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985–.
Davidson, Thomas. "Perception." *Mind* 7 (1882): 496–513.
Dewey, John. "William James." In *The Middle Works, 1899–1924*, vol. 6: *1910–1911*, edited by Jo Ann Boydston, 505–8. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978.
———. *Experience and Nature*. In *The Later Works, 1925–1953*, vol. 1: *1925*, edited by Jo Ann Boydston. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981.
Dods, John Bovee. *The Philosophy of Mesmerism and Electrical Psychology*. London: Burns, 1886.
Du Bois, W. E. B. *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
du Bois-Reymond, Emil. *On Animal Electricity: Being an Abstract of the Discoveries of Emil du Bois-Reymond*, based on his *Untersuchungen über Thierische Elektricität* [Researches in animal electricity]. Edited by H. Bence Jones. London: J. Churchill, 1852 [1848].
———. "Civilization and Science I." *Popular Science Monthly* 13 (1878): 257–74.
———. "Darwin and Copernicus." *Popular Science Monthly* 23 (1883): 249–50.
Eastlake, Charles. *Hints on Household Taste*. New York: Dover Books, 1969 [1878].
Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *Letters and Social Aims*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1904 [1875].
———. *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Vol. 4: *1832–1834*. Edited by Alfred R. Ferguson. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1964.
———. *Collected Poems and Translations*. New York: Library of America, 1994.

——. *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Edited by Barbara L. Packer, Joseph Slater, and Douglas Emory Wilson. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2003.

Epictetus. *Discourses and Selected Writings*. Translated by Robert Dobbin. New York: Penguin Books, 2008 [c. 108 CE].

Esquirol, Jean Etienne Dominique. *Des maladies mentales, considérées sous les rapports Médical, Hygiénique et Médico-Légal*. 3 vols. Paris: chez J.-B. Baillière, Libraire de l'Acadème Royale de Medecine, 1838.

Everett, Edward. "The History of Grecian Art." *North American Review* 25 (1821): 179–88.

Fiske, John. "Mill's Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte." *North American Review* 1 (1866): 275–80.

Flournoy, Théodore. *La Philosophie de William James*. Saint-Blaise: Foyer Solidariste, 1911.

——. *The Philosophy of William James*. Translated by Edwin B. Holt and William James, Junior. London: Constable, 1917.

Freud, Sigmund. "Screen Memories." In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 3: *1893–1899*, translated and edited by James Strachey, 301–22. London: Hogarth Press, 1962.

Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. "The Yellow Wallpaper" (1892). In *The Charlotte Perkins Gilman Reader*, edited by Ann J. Lane, 3–20. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999 [1980].

Gladstone, J. H. *Michael Faraday*. New York: Chautauqua Press, 1872.

Goethe, Wolfgang. "Annals; or, Day and Year Papers, from 1749 to 1822." In *Classic Memoirs*, edited by Julian Hawthorne, translated by Charles Nisbet, 3:1–261. New York: Colonial Press, 1901.

Gray, Asa. *Darwiniana: Essays and Reviews Pertaining to Darwinism*. Edited by A. Hunter Dupree. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963 [1876].

Habermas, Jürgen. "The Public Sphere" (1973). In *Habermas on Society and Politics*, edited by Steven Seidman, translated by Shierry Weber Nicholsen, 231–36. Boston: Beacon Press, 1989.

Hahnemann, Samuel. *Organon of the Medical Art*. 6th ed. Translated by Steven Decker and edited by Wenda Brewster O'Reilly. Redmond, WA: Birdcage Books, 1996.

Hawthorne, Julian. "When Half-Gods Go, The Gods Arrive." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 71 (1885): 566–78.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *The Marble Faun; or, The Romance of Monte Beni*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1986 [1860].

Helmholtz, Hermann. *Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects*. Translated by E. Atkinson. London: Longmans, Green, 1873 [1865–76].

Hero, J. H. "Errors in Home Practice." *Water-Cure Journal and Herald of Reform, devoted to physiology, hydropathy and laws of life* 20 (1855): 102.

Herodian of Antioch. *History of the Roman Empire Since Marcus Aurelius*. Translated by Edward C. Echols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961 [c. 240 CE].

Higginson, Henry Lee. *The Letters of Henry Lee Higginson*. Edited by Bliss Perry. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1972 [1921].

Homer. *Odyssee*. Translated by Carl Friedrich Voss. Lucerne: Bucher Verlag, 1969 [1781].

——. *The Odyssey*. Translated by Robert Fagles. New York: Viking Penguin, 1996.
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Senior. *Medical Essays: 1842–82*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1899.
Horsell, William. *Hydropathy for the People: with plain observations on drugs, diet, water, air, and exercise, with notes and observations, by R. T. Trall*. New York: Fowlers and Wells, 1850.
Hosmer, Burr Griswold. *Poems*. Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1868.
Huxley, Thomas Henry. "On the Hypothesis That Animals Are Automata, and Its History." *Fortnightly Review*, no. 95, n.s., 16 (1874): 555–80.
——. *Methods and Results*. New York: D. Appleton, 1894.
Jackson, John Hughlings. *Selected Writings: Evolution and dissolution of the nervous system. Speeches, Various Papers, Addresses and Lectures*. Edited by James Taylor. New York: Basic Books, 1958.
James, Alice. *The Diary of Alice James*. Edited by Leon Edel. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1964 [1934].
James, Garth Wilkinson. "Story of the War." *Milwaukee Sentinel*, whole number 12,856 (December 3, 1883), 16.
James, Henry, [Senior]. *Moralism and Christianity; or, Man's Experience and Destiny*. New York: J. S. Redfield, 1850.
——. *Lectures and Miscellanies*. New York: AMS Press, 1983 [1852].
——. *The Nature of Evil Considered in a letter to the Rev. Edward Beecher, D. D., Author of "The Conflict of Ages."* New York: D. Appleton, 1855.
——. *Christianity the Logic of Creation*. New York: D. Appleton, 1857.
——. *Substance and Shadow: or, Morality and Religion in Their Relation to Life: An Essay Upon the Physics of Creation*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1863.
——. *The Literary Remains of the Late Henry James* Edited by William James. Boston: James R. Osgood, 1884.
——. "The Social Significance of Our Institutions; an Oration Delivered by Request of the Citizens at Newport, R. I., July 4th, 1861." In *American Philosophical Addresses: 1700–1800*, edited by Joseph L. Blau, 231–56. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946.
——. *Henry James, Senior: A Selection of His Writings*. Edited by Giles Gunn. Chicago: American Library Associates, 1974.
——. *Society the Redeemed Form of Man, and the Earnest of God's Omnipotence in Human Nature: Affirmed in Letters to a Friend*. Boston: Houghton, Osborn, 1979.
James, Henry, [Senior], et al. *Love, Marriage and Divorce and the Sovereignty of the Individual*. New York: Source Book Press, 1972 [1853].
James, Henry, [Junior]. Review of *The Works of Epictetus, Consisting of his Discourses, in Four Books, the Enchiridion, and Fragments*. Translated by Elizabeth Carter, edited by Thomas Wentworth Higginson (1865). *North American Review* 102 (1866): 599–606.
——. *The American*. Edited by James Tuttleton. New York: Norton, 1978 [1877].
——. *Notes of a Son and Brother*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914.
——. *Autobiography*. Edited by Frederick W. Dupee. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956.

——. *The American Scene*. Edited by Leon Edel. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968.
——. *The Complete Letters of Henry James, 1855–1872*. Vol. 2. Edited by Pierre Walker and Greg Zacharias. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.
James, Henry, III. *Charles William Eliot: President of Harvard University, 1869–1909*. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930.
James, William. *William James on Psychical Research*. Edited by Gardner Murphy and Robert O. Ballou. Clifton, NJ: A. M. Kelley, 1973 [1960].
——. *The Writings of William James: A Comprehensive Edition*. Edited by John J. McDermott. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977 [1967].
Kallen, Horace M., ed. *The Philosophy of William James, Selected From His Chief Works*. New York: Modern Library, 1948.
——. "The Modern World, the Intellectual, and William James." *Western Political Quarterly* 13 (1960): 863–79.
Kaltenborn, Hans Von. "William James at Harvard." *Harvard Illustrated Magazine* 8 (1907): 93–95.
Kant, Immanuel. *Critique of Pure Reason*. Translated by Norman Kemp Smith. London, 1929 [1781].
——. *Critique of Practical Reason*. Translated by L. W. Beck. New York, 1956 [1788].
Koeppen, Karl Friedrich. *Die Religion des Buddha*. 2 vols. Berlin: F. Schneider, 1857–59.
Laycock, Thomas. *Mind and Brain*. London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1860.
LeClair, Robert C., ed. *The Letters of William James and Théodore Flournoy*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966.
LeConte, Joseph. "The Relation Between Physical, Chemical, and Vital Forces." *American Journal of Science and Arts* 28 (1859): 306–19.
Lewis, Samuel Savage. *On Three Statuettes Found at Tanagra*. Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1879.
Liébeault, Ambroise-Auguste. *Le Sommeil provoqué et les états analogues*. New York: Arno Press, 1976 [1889].
Lovering, Joseph P. *S. Weir Mitchell*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1971.
Mach, Ernst. *Contributions to the Analysis of the Sensations*. Translated by C. M. Williams. LaSalle, IL: Open Court, 1897 [1885].
Maudsley, Henry. *Physiology and Pathology of Mind*. Washington, DC: University Publications of America, 1977 [1867].
——. *Body and Mind: An Inquiry into Their Connection and Mutual Influence, specially in reference to mental disorders: an enlarged and revised edition. To which are added Psychological Essays*. New York: D. Appleton, 1898 [1870].
——. *Responsibility in Mental Disease*. New York: D. Appleton, 1878.
Mill, John Stuart. *Auguste Comte and Positivism*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961 [1866].
——. *The Subjection of Women*. New York: D. Appleton, 1869.
Mitchell, S. Weir. *Wear and Tear*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1871.
——. *Fat and Blood: An Essay on the Treatment of Certain Forms of Neurasthenia and Hysteria*. 3rd ed. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1884 [1877].

Moreau de Tours, Jacques Joseph. *Du Haschisch et de l'aliénation mentale*. Paris: Fortin Maeson, 1845.

——. *La Psychologie morbide dans ses rapports avec la philosophie d'histoire; ou, De l'influence des nérvopathies sur les dynamisme intellectuel*. Paris: V. Masson, 1859.

Morgan, Nicholas. *The Skull and the Brain: Their Indications of Character and Anatomical Relations*. London: Longmans, Green, 1875.

Müller, Max, ed. *Sacred Books of the East*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1879–.

Münsterberg, Hugo. "Psychology and the Real Life." *Atlantic Monthly* 81 (1898): 602–13.

Murray, Gilbert. *Five Stages of Greek Religion*. 3rd ed. New York: Dover, 2002 [1912].

Oppermann, Andreas. *Ernst Rietschel, the Sculptor, and the Lessons of His Life: An Autobiography and a Memoir*. Translated by Jane Sturge. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1875 [1863].

Nichols, Thomas. *An Introduction to the Water-Cure*. New York: Fowlers and Wells, 1850.

Ordway, Alfred, ed. *Catalogue of the Thirty-Sixth Exhibition of Paintings and Statuary, at the Athenæum Gallery*. Boston: Prentice and Deland, Printers, 1860.

Parker, Robert. *On Greek Religion*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011.

Pascal, Blaise. *Pascal's Pensées* [Thoughts]. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1958 [1670].

Paulsen, Friedrich. *A System of Ethics*. Edited and translated by Frank Thilly. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899.

Peirce, B. Osgood. "Biographical Memoir of Joseph Lovering, 1813–1892." *National Academy of Sciences, Biographical Memoirs* 6 (1909): 329–44.

Peirce, Charles S. *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*. 8 vols. Edited by Charles Sanders Peirce et al. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931–58.

——. *Contributions to* The Nation. 4 parts. Edited by Kenneth Laine Ketner and James Edward Cook. Lubbock: Texas Tech Press, 1975–87.

——. *The Writings of Charles S. Peirce: A Chronological Edition*. Edited by Christian J. W. Kloesel et al. Vol. 3. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.

——. *Illustrations of the Logic of Science*. Edited by Cornelis De Waal. Chicago: Open Court, 2014.

Rausse, J. H. *Errors of Physicians and Others in the Practice of the Water-Cure as a remedial agent in the prevention and cure of diseases, with instructions for its proper application*. Translated by C. H. Meeker. New York: Fowlers and Wells, 1851.

——. *The Water-Cure, Applied to Every Known Disease: a complete demonstration of the Advantages of the Hydropathic System of Curing Diseases: showing, also, the fallacy of the medicinal method, and its utter inability to effect a permanent cure. With appendix, containing a water diet and rules for bathing*. 3rd ed., enlarged and improved. Translated by C. H. Meeker. New York: Fowlers and Wells, 1851.

Ray, Isaac. *Mental Hygiene*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1863.

——. *Contributions to Mental Pathology*. New York: BiblioBazar, 2009 [1873].

Renouvier, Charles. *Essais de critique générale, deuxième essai traité de psychologie rationnelle d'après les principles du criticisme, tome premier*. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1912.

Ribot, Théodule. *German Psychology of To-day: The Empirical School*. 2nd ed. Translated by Mark Baldwin. New York: Scribner's, 1886 [1879].

Robinson, W. F. *Electro-Therapeutics of Neurasthenia*. Detroit: George S. Davis, 1893.
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Julie; or, the New Heloise*. Translated by Philip Stewart and Jean Vaché. Lebanon, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 1997.
Santayana, George. *Character and Opinion in the United States*. New York: Norton, 1967 [1920].
Sargent, Mrs. John T. [Mary Elizabeth], ed. *Sketches and Reminiscences of the Radical Club of Chestnut Street, Boston*. Boston: James R. Osgood, 1880.
Schiller, Friedrich. *Humanism*. 2nd ed. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1970 [1903].
——. *Essays Aesthetical and Philosophical, including the dissertation on the "Connexion Between the Animal and Spiritual in Man."* London: George Brill and Sons, 1905.
——. *On the Naïve and Literature*. Translated by Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly. Manchester: Carcanet New Press, 1981.
——. *Schiller's "On Grace and Dignity" in its Cultural Context: Essays and a New Translation*. Edited and translated by Jane Curran and Christophe Fricker. Los Angeles: Camden House, 2005.
——. "The Gods of Greece," http://www.gutenberg.org/files/6795/6795-h/6795-h.htm#2H_4_0003.
Seth, James. Review of James, *A Pluralistic Universe*. *Philosophical Review* 18 (1909): 536–42.
Sheridan, Richard. "The Rivals, A Comedy" (1775). In *Sheridan: Plays*, edited by Cecil Price, 1–81. New York: Oxford University Press, 1975.
Shew, Joel. *Hydropathy; or, The Water-Cure: Its Principles, Processes, and Modes of Treatment, compiled in part from the most eminent authors, ancient and modern, on the subject: together with an account of the latest methods adopted by Priessnitz, illustrated with numerous cases of cure*. 4th ed., improved and enlarged. New York: Fowlers and Wells, 1849.
Simon, Linda, ed. *William James Remembered*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.
Spencer, Herbert. *Principles of Psychology*. 2 vols. New York: D Appleton, 1896 [1855].
——. *First Principles*. Philadelphia: David McKay, 1880 [1860].
——. *Principles of Biology*. 2 vols. New York: D Appleton, 1866.
Spinoza, Baruch. *Ethics, Demonstrated in Geometric Order*. Translated by R. H. M. Elwes. Auckland, NZ: The Floating Press, 2009 [1677].
Steffens, Lincoln. *Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1931.
Stephen, James Fitzjames. *Essays. By a Barrister*. Reprinted from the *Saturday Review*. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1862.
Strong, Charles. *Why the Mind Has a Body*. New York: Macmillan, 1905.
Swedenborg, Emanuel. *Angelic Wisdom concerning Divine Love and Wisdom*. New York: Swedenborg Foundation, 1941 [1763].
Swift, Jonathan. *A Tale of a Tub: Written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind*. London: Printed for J. Nutt, 1705.
Swinburne, Algernon Charles. "Mr. Arnold's New Poems." *Fortnightly Review*, n.s., 2 (1867): 414–45.
Symonds, John Addington. *Studies of the Greek Poets*. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1893 [1873].

Thipakon, Chao Phya, and Henry Alabaster. *The Modern Buddhist; Being the views of a Siamese Minister of State on his own and other religions*. London: Trübner, 1870.
Tillich, Paul. *Systematic Theology*. 3 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.
Töpffer, Robert. *Voyages en zigzag*. Paris: Victor Lecou, 1855.
Trall, R. T. *Nervous Debility: The Nature, Causes, Consequences, and Hygienic Treatment of Invalids Suffering of Premature Exhausted Vitality*. New York: Davies and Kent, Printers, 1861.
Vacherot, Étienne. *La religion*. Paris: Chamerot et Lauwereyns, 1869.
Wallace, Alfred Russel. *Narrative of Travels on the Amazon*. New York: Ward, Lock, and Bowden, 1895.
Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated by Talcott Parsons. London: Routledge Paul, 1992 [1904–5].
——. "Science as Vocation." In *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, edited and translated by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, 129–56. New York: Routledge, 2009 [1946].
Whewell, William. *History of the Inductive Sciences*. In *Writings on the History of Science*, edited by Yehuda Elkana, 1–119. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984 [1857].
Whitehead, Alfred North. *The Concept of Nature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955 [1920].
——. *Modes of Thought*. New York: Macmillan, 1938.
Wilkinson, James John Garth. *The Human Body and Its Connection With Man, Illustrated by the Principal Organs*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, 1851.
——. *James John Garth Wilkinson; A Memoir of His Life, with a Selection of His Letters*. Edited by John Clement Wilkinson. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1911.
Wilkinson, James John Garth, and William Young, eds. *Vaccination Tracts*. London: William Young, 1879.
Winckelmann, Johann. *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* [History of Ancient Art]. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972 [1764].
——. *History of Ancient Art*. 4 vols. Translated by G. Henry Lodge. Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1849–73.
——. *Writings on Art*. Edited and translated by David Irwin. London: Phaidon, 1972.
Winslow, Forbes. *On Obscure Diseases of the Brain and Disorders of the Mind: Their Incipient Symptoms, Pathology, Diagnosis, Treatment, and Prophylaxis*. Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea, 1860; New York: Arno Press, 1976.
Witmer, Lightner. "Mental Healing and the Emmanuel Movement." *Psychological Clinic* 2 (1907): 212–23, 239–50, 282–30.
——. "Is the Psychology Taught at Harvard a National Peril? *Current Literature* 46 (1909): 436–38.
Wordsworth, William. *The Prelude*. Edited by J. C Maxwell. New York: Penguin Books, 1971 [1850].
Wright, Chauncey. *Philosophical Discussions*. Edited by Charles Eliot Norton. New York: Henry Holt, 1877.

Secondary Sources

Abrams, M. H. *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature*. New York: Norton, 1971.

Abzug, Robert. *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Ackerknecht, Erwin H. *Medicine at the Paris Hospital, 1794–1848*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967.

Agassi, Joseph. *Faraday as a Natural Philosopher*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971.

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004 [1972].

Albanese, Catherine L. *Nature Religion in America: From the Algonkian Indians to the New Age*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

———. *American Spiritualities: A Reader*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.

———. *Reconsidering Nature Religion*. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002.

———. *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

———. *America, Religions, and Religion*. Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2013.

Alexander, Franz G., and Sheldon T. Selesnick. *The History of Psychiatry: An Examination of Psychiatric Thought and Practice from Prehistoric Times to the Present*. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.

Aliotta, Antonio. *The Idealistic Reaction against Science*. Translated by Agnes McCaskell. London: Macmillan, 1914.

Allen, Gay Wilson. *William James: A Biography*. New York: Viking Press, 1967.

Alter, Stephen G. *Darwinism and the Linguistic Image: Language, Race, and Natural Theology in the Nineteenth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

———. *William Dwight Whitney and the Science of Language*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

Aminoff, Michael J. *Brown-Séquard: A Visionary of Science*. New York: Raven Press, 1993.

Anderson, Doug. *Philosophy Americana: Making Philosophy at Home in American Culture*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Anderson, James William. "In Search of Mary James." *Psychohistory Review* 8 (1979): 63–70.

———. "In Search of William James." *Psychohistory Review* 8 (1979): 63–70.

———. "'The Worst Kind of Melancholy': William James in 1869." In *A William James Renaissance: Four Essays by Young Scholars*, edited by Mark R. Schwehn, 369–86. *Harvard Library Bulletin* 30 (1982).

Anonymous. "Lovering, Joseph." *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, vol. 6, edited by "distinguished biographers," 425. New York: J. T. White, 1892.

———. "Lovering, Joseph." *Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans*, edited by Rossiter Johnson, vol. 7. Boston: Biographical Society, 1904.

Anton, John P. *American Naturalism and Greek Philosophy*. Amherst: Humanity-Prometheus, 2005.

Araujo, Saulo de Freitas. *Wundt and the Philosophical Foundations of Psychology: A Reappraisal*. New York: Springer, 2015.

Armstrong, Karen. *The Case for God*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009.

Auerbach, Erich. *Mimesis: Representations of Reality in Western Culture*. Translated by Willard Trask. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003 [1953].

Baker, Bernadette. *William James, Sciences of Mind, and Anti-Imperial Discourse*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Bambach, Charles. *Heidegger's Roots: Nietzsche, National Socialism, and the Greeks*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.

Barbour, Ian. *Religion in an Age of Science: The Gifford Lectures, 1989–1991*. Vol. 1. San Francisco: Harper, 1990.

Barker, Bernadette M. *William James, Sciences of Mind, and Anti-imperialist Discourse*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Barnard, G. William. *Exploring Unseen Worlds: William James and the Philosophy of Mysticism*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997.

Barzun, Jacques. *A Stroll with William James*. New York: Harper & Row, 1983.

Bassan, Maurice. *Hawthorne's Son: The Life and Literary Career of Julian Hawthorne*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1970.

Bates, Don G. "Why Not Call Modern Medicine 'Alternative'?" *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 43 (2000): 502–18.

Bedell, Rebecca Bailey. *The Anatomy of Nature: Geology and American Landscape Painting, 1825- 1875*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Beebee, Helen. *Hume on Causation*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Beecher, Henry Knowles, and Mark Altschule. *Medicine at Harvard: The First Three Hundred Years*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1977.

Beisner, Robert L. *Twelve against Empire: The Anti-imperialists, 1898–1900*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968.

Bernstein, Richard. *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism: Science, Hermeneutics, and Praxis*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.

———. *The Pragmatic Turn*. New York: John Wiley, 2010.

Berry, Thomas. *The Dream of the Earth*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988.

Bird, Graham. *William James*. The Arguments of the Philosophers series, edited by Ted Honderich. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986.

Bixler, Julius Seelye. *Religion in the Philosophy of William James*. Boston: Marshall Jones, 1926.

Bjork, Daniel. *The Compromised Scientist: William James in the Development of American Psychology*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

———. *William James: The Center of His Vision*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

Bloch, Marc. *The Historian's Craft*. New York, Knopf, 1954.

Bloom, Harold. *Agon: Toward a Theory of Revisionism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Blum, Deborah. *Ghost Hunters: William James and the Search for Scientific Proof of Life after Death*. New York: Penguin, 2006.

Bordelon, Pamela. Foreword to *Go Gator and Muddy the Water: Writings by Zora Neale Hurston from the Federal Writers' Project*, edited by Bordelon, ix–xiii. New York: Norton, 1999.

Bordogna, Francesca. *William James at the Boundaries: Philosophy, Science, and the Geography of Knowledge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
Boring, Edwin G. *A History of Experimental Psychology*. 2nd ed. New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1950 [1929].
Boutroux, Émile. *William James*. Paris: A. Colin, 1911.
——. *William James*. Translated by Archibald and Barbara Henderson. New York: Longmans, Green,1912.
Bowler, Peter J. *Monkey Trials and Gorilla Sermons: Evolution and Christianity from Darwin to Intelligent Design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.
Bradford, Miles Gerald. "Practical Theism and Pantheism: Two Approaches to God in the Thought of William James." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1977.
Bridgers, Lynn. *Contemporary Varieties of Religious Experience: James's Classic Study in Light of Resiliency, Temperament, and Trauma*. Lanham, MD: Roman and Littlefield, 2005.
Bromell, Nick. *Tomorrow Never Knows: Rock and Psychedelics in the 1960s*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
Brooke, John Hedley. *Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
Brooks, John I., III. *The Eclectic Legacy: Academic Philosophy and the Human Sciences in Nineteenth-Century France*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998.
Brown, Candy Gunther. *The Word in the World: Evangelical Writing, Publishing, and Reading, 1789–1880*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
Burch, Robert, and Herman Saatkamp Jr. *Frontiers in American Philosophy*. Vol. 2. College Station: Texas A and M University Press, 1996.
Burkert, Walter. *Greek Religion*. Translated by John Raffan. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985 [1977].
Burr, Anna Robeson. *Alice James: Her Brothers—Her Journal*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1934.
Bush, Clive. *Halfway to Revolution: Investigation and Crisis in the Work of Henry Adams, William James, and Gertrude Stein*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.
Bynum, W. F. *Science and the Practice of Medicine in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
Campbell, James. "Pragmatism and Moral Growth: James and the Question of Vivisection." *Pragmatism Today* 6 (2015): 61–66.
——, ed. *Experience as Philosophy: On the Work of John J. McDermott*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2006.
Capps, Donald, and Janet L. Jacobs, eds. *The Struggle for Life: A Companion to William James's* The Varieties of Religious Experience. Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary / Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1995.
Carlson, Eric T. "George M. Beard and Neurasthenia." In *Essays in the History of Psychiatry*, edited by Edward R. Wallace IV and Lucius C. Pressley, 50–57. Columbia, SC: William S. Hall Psychiatric Institute, 1980.
Carrette, Jeremy. *William James's Hidden Religious Imagination: A Universe of Relations*. London: Routledge / Taylor and Francis, 2013.

Carter, Paul. *The Spiritual Crisis of the Gilded Age*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971.

Cashdollar, Charles D. *The Transformation of Theology, 1830–1890: Positivism and Protestant Thought in Britain and America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Cassedy, James H. *Medicine in America: A Short History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Cavell, Stanley. *Little Did I Know: Excerpts From Memory*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010.

Cayleff, Susan E. *Wash and Be Healed: The Water-Cure Movement and Women's Health*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987.

Chadwick, Owen. *Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990 [1975].

Clebsch. William A. *American Religious Thought*. Chicago History of American Religion, edited by Martin E. Marty. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

Cohen, I. Bernard. *Puritanism and the Rise of Modern Science: The Merton Thesis*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

Cohen, Michael. *Complementary and Alternative Medicine: Legal Boundaries and Regulatory Perspectives*. Baltimore: John's Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Coleman, William, and Frederic Holmes, eds. *The Investigative Enterprise: Experimental Physiology in Nineteenth-Century Medicine*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Conkin, Paul K. *Puritans and Pragmatists: Eight Eminent American Thinkers*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1968.

——. *When All the Gods Trembled: Darwinism, Scopes, and American Intellectuals*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998.

Coon, Deborah J. "Courtship with Anarchy: The Socio-political Foundations of William James's Pragmatism." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1988.

——. "Standardizing the Subject: Experimental Psychologists, Introspection, and the Quest for a Technoscientific Ideal." *Technology and Culture* 34 (1993): 757–83.

——. "'One Moment in the World's Salvation': Anarchism and the Radicalization of William James." *Journal of American History* 83 (1996): 70–99.

Cooper, Wesley. *The Unity of William James's Thought*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002.

Cooter, Roger. "Phrenology and British Alienists." In *Madhouses, Mad-Doctors, and Madmen: The Social History of Psychiatry in the Victorian Era*, edited by Andrew Scull, 58–104. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.

Cope, Jackson I. "William James's Correspondence with Daniel Coit Gilman, 1877–1881." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12 (1951): 609- 27.

Cormier, Harvey. *The Truth Is What Works: William James, Pragmatism, and the Seed of Death*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.

Corti, Walter Robert, ed. *The Philosophy of William James*. Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1976.

Cotkin, George. *William James, Public Philosopher*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.

Coulter, Harris L. *Divided Legacy: The Conflict between Homoeopathy and the AMA; Science and Ethics in Medicine, 1800–1914*. Berkley: North Atlantic Books, 1973.
Crary, Jonathan. *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990.
Croce, Ann Jerome. "Another Medical Paradigm: The Case of Classical Homeopathy." *Long Term View* 4 (1997): 25–27.
Croce, Paul J. "From History of Science to Intellectual History: The Probabilistic Revolution and the Chance-Filled Universe of William James." *Intellectual History Newsletter* 13 (1991): 11–32.
———. *Science and Religion in the Era of William James*. Vol. 1: *Eclipse of Certainty, 1820–1880*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
———. "William James's Scientific Education." *History of the Human Sciences* 8 (1995): 9–27.
———. "Between Spiritualism and Science: William James on Religion and Human Nature." *Zeitschrift für Neuere Theologiegeschichte / Journal for the History of Modern Theology* 4 (1997): 197–220.
———. "Physiology as the Antechamber to Metaphysics: The Young William James's Hope for a Philosophical Psychology." *History of Psychology* 2 (1999): 302–23.
———. "Beyond the Warfare of Science and Religion in American Culture—and Back Again." *Religious Studies Review* 26 (2000): 29–35.
———. "Science and Religion." In *Encyclopedia of American Cultural and Intellectual History*, edited by Mary Kupiec Cayton and Peter W. Williams, 1:483–91. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.
———. "In Search of William James's Medical Thesis: Physiological Science and Water-Cure Therapies." History of Science Society conference, Denver, November 2001.
———. "Intellectuals." In *Encyclopedia of American Studies*, edited by George Kurian et al. New York: Grolier, 2001.
———. "Calming the Screaming Eagle: William James as Brother and Friend to Warriors in the Civil War." *New England Quarterly* 76 (March 2003): 5–37.
———. "Creationism / Creation Science." In *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Nature*, edited by Bron Taylor and Jeffrey Kaplan. New York: Continuum International Publishers, 2004.
———. "Nature's Providence: From Swedenborgian Philosophy of Use to William James's Pragmatism." *Transactions of the Charles Sanders Peirce Society* 4 (2007): 490–508.
———. "A Mannered Memory and Teachable Moment: William James and the French Correspondent in *The Varieties*." *William James Studies* 4 (2009): 36–69.
———. "Nature's Beloved Incarnations: Inquiry, Conviction, and William James." *American Journal of Theology and Philosophy* (2009): 305–21.
———. "Reaching beyond Uncle William: A Century of William James in Theory and in Life." *History of Psychology* 13 (2010): 351–77.
———. "Presidential Address: The Non-disciplinary William James." *William James Studies* 8 (2012): 1–33.
———. "Spilt Mysticism: William James's Democratization of Religion." *William James Studies* 9 (2013): 3–26.

——. "The Incarnation Writ Large: William James, Swedenborgianism, and the Origins of Modern Spirituality." In *Emanuel Swedenborg—Exploring a World Memory: Context, Content, Contribution*, edited by Karl Grandin, 280–94. Stockholm: Center for the History of Science, 2013.

——. "Development Biography; or, The Top Seven Reasons to Consider Early Life When Evaluating Thinkers and Their Thoughts." *Society for US History Blog* (2015), http://s-usih.org/2015/10/development-biography-or-the-top-seven-reasons-to-consider-early-life-when-evaluating-thinkers-and-their-thoughts.html.

——. "William James, Medicine, and Natural Facts." In *Oxford Handbook of William James*, edited by Alexander Klein. New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

Crosby, Donald. *The Philosophy of William James: Radical Empiricism and Radical Materialism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2013.

Crosby, Pamela. "Making a Life Significant: William James on Higher Education and Civic Responsibility." *William James Studies* 7 (2011): 20–35.

Cunningham, A. R., and N. Jardine, eds. *Romanticism and the Sciences*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Curtis, Gregory. *Disarmed: The Story of Venus de Milo*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003.

Damasio, Antonio. *Looking for Spinoza: Joy, Sorrow, and the Feeling Brain*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt, 2003.

——. *Self Comes to Mind: Constructing the Conscious Brain*. New York: Pantheon, 2011.

Danziger, Kurt. *Constructing the Subject: Historical Origins of Psychological Research*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Daston, Lorraine, and Gregg Mitman, eds. *Thinking with Animals: New Perspectives on Anthropomorphism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

Davis, Janet M. *Circus Age: Culture and Society under the Big Top*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Dawkins, Richard. *The God Delusion*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006.

DeBenedetti, Charles. *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era*, Charles Chatfield, assisting author. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990.

Deck, Raymond H., Jr. "The 'Vastation' of Henry James, Sr.: New Light on James's Theological Career." *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* 83 (1980): 216–47.

DeJean, Joan E. *Ancients against Moderns: Culture Wars and the Making of a Fin de Siècle*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Dembski, William, and James Kushiner, eds. *Signs of Intelligence: Understanding Intelligent Design*. Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2001.

De Mul, Jos. *The Tragedy of Finitude*. Translated by Tony Burrett. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Devaux, Philippe. "Variétés: À propos du 'Renouvierisme' de William James." *Revue International de Philosophie* 32 (1978): 385–406.

Dewhurst, Kenneth, and Nigel Reeves. *Friedrich Schiller: Medicine, Psychology and Literature, with the first English editions of his complete medical and psychological writings*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

Dickstein, Morris, ed. *The Revival of Pragmatism: New Essays on Social Thought, Law, and Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.

Diggins, John Patrick. *The Promise of Pragmatism: Modernism and the Crisis of Knowledge and Authority*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994.

——. "Pragmatism and the Historians." *Intellectual History Newsletter* 17 (1995): 25–30.

Dittes, James E. "Beyond William James." In *Beyond the Classics: Essays in the Scientific Study of Religion*, edited by Charles Y. Glock and Phillip E. Hammond, 291–354. New York: Harper and Row, 1973.

Dixon, Thomas. "The Psychology of the Emotions in Britain and America in the Nineteenth Century: The Role of Religious and Antireligious Commitments." In *Science in Theistic Contexts: Cognitive Dimensions*, edited by John Hendley Brooke et al. *Osiris*, 2nd ser., 16 (2001): 288–320.

Dodds, E. R. *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety: Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990 [1965].

Donegan, Jane. *Hydropathic Highway to Health: Women and Water-Cure in Antebellum America*. Westport: Greenwood, 1986.

Donnelly, Margaret E., ed. *Reinterpreting the Legacy of William James*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1992.

Dooley, Patrick K. *Pragmatism and Humanism: The Philosophy of William James*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1974.

——. *A Community of Inquiry: Conversations between Classical American Philosophy and American Literature*. Kent: Kent State University Press, 2008.

Doyle, Bob. *Free Will: The Scandal in Philosophy*. Cambridge: I-Phi Press, 2011.

Drake, H. A. *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

Duban, James. "Charles Darwin, Henry James, Sr., and 'Evolution.'" *Harvard Library Bulletin*, n.s., 7 (1996): 45–62.

——. *The Nature of True Virtue: Theology, Psychology, and Politics in the Writings of Henry James, Sr., Henry James, Jr., and William James*. Cranberry, NJ: Associated University Presses / Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2001.

Dweck, Carol. *Mindset: The New Psychology of Success*. New York: Random House, 2006.

Dweck, Carol, and Ellen Leggett. "A Social-Cognitive Approach to Motivation and Personality." *Psychological Review* 95 (1998): 256–73.

Edel, Leon. *Henry James*. 5 vols. New York: Avon Books, 1953–72.

Edie, James M. *William James and Phenomenology*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.

Eisenberg, D. M., et al. "Unconventional Medicine in the United States—Prevalence, Cost, and Patterns of Use." *New England Journal of Medicine* 328 (1993): 246–52.

Eisendrath, Craig. *Unifying Moments: The Psychological Philosophy of William James and Alfred North Whitehead*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Emilio, Luis F. *A Brave Black Regiment: History of the Fifty-Fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 1863–1865*. New York: Arno Press, 1969 [1894].

Erikson, Erik H. *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History*. New York: Norton, 1958.

——. *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. New York: Norton, 1968.
Esposito, Joseph L. *Evolutionary Metaphysics: The Development of Peirce's Theory of Categories*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1980.
Fay, Jay Wharton. *American Psychology before William James*. New York: Octagon, 1966 [1939].
Febvre, Lucien. *The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century, the Religion of Rabelais*. Translated by Beatrice Gottlieb. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982 [1942].
Feffer, Andrew. *Chicago Pragmatists and American Progressivism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
Feinstein, Howard M. "William James on the Emotions." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 31 (1970): 133–42.
——. "The 'Crisis' of William James: A Revisionist View." *Psychohistory Review* 10 (1981): 71–80.
——. *Becoming William James*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984.
Ferguson, Everett. *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2003.
Ferrari, Michel. "The Personal Paradox of William James's Varieties." *Streams of William James* 4 (2002): 13–22.
Finger, Stanley. *The Origins of Neuroscience: A History of Explorations into Brain Function*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
Finkelstein, Gabriel. *Emil du Bois-Reymond: Neuroscience, Self, and Society in Nineteenth-Century Germany*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013.
Fisher, Paul. *House of Wits: An Intimate Portrait of the James Family*. New York: Henry Holt, 2008.
Fletcher, Angus. "Francis Bacon's Forms and the Logic of Ramist Conversion." *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 43 (2005): 157–69.
Flower, Elizabeth, and Murray G. Murphey. *A History of Philosophy in America*. 2 vols. Oakville: Capricorn Books, 1977.
Fontinell, Eugene. *Self, God, and Immortality: A Jamesian Investigation*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2000 [1986].
Ford, Marcus Peter. *William James's Philosophy: A New Perspective*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982.
Foucault, Michel. *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archeology of Medical Perception*. Translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon, 1973.
Fox, Robin Lane. *Pagans and Christians*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1988 [1986].
Frankenberry, Nancy. *Religion and Radical Empiricism*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987.
Freeman, Eugene. *The Categories of Charles Peirce*. Chicago: Open Court, 1934.
Friedman, Maurice S. *Martin Buber on God and Man in Relation: A Life of Dialogue*. 4th ed. London: Routledge, 2002 [1955].
Fuller, Robert C. *Alternative Medicine and American Religious Life*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
——. *Spiritual but Not Religious: Understanding Unchurched America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Fullinwider, S. P. "William James's 'Spiritual Crisis.'" *The Historian* 38 (1975): 39–57.
Fulton, John F. "Dwight, Thomas." *Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, 573. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937.
Fye, W. Bruce. *The Development of American Physiology: Scientific Medicine in the Nineteenth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.
Gaines, Kevin K. *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
Gale, Richard M. *The Divided Self of William James*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
Galenson, David. *Old Masters and Young Geniuses: The Two Life Cycles of Artistic Creativity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
Garrison, George R., and Edward H. Madden. "William James—Warts and All." *American Quarterly* 29 (1977): 207–21.
Garrison, Jim, Ronald Podeschi, and Eric Bredo, eds. *William James and Education*. New York: Teachers College, 2002.
Gates, Henry Louis, Jr. *Loose Canons: Notes on the Culture Wars*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
Gavin, William Joseph. *William James and the Reinstatement of the Vague*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992.
Geary, James. *We Need Men: The Union Draft in the Civil War*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1991.
Gevitz, Norman, ed. *Other Healers: Unorthodox Medicine in America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.
Gilbert, James B. *Work without Salvation: America's Intellectuals and Industrial Alienation, 1880–1917*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.
Gill, Stephen. *Wordsworth and the Victorians*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
Gilman, Sander L. *Disease and Representation: Images of Illness from Madness to AIDS*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.
Glaude, Eddie E., Jr. *In a Shade of Blue: Pragmatism and the Politics of Black America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
Godwin, Joscelyn. *The Theosophical Enlightenment*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994.
Goldsmith, Barbara. *Other Powers: The Age of Suffrage, Spiritualism, and the Scandalous Victoria Woodhull*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998.
Good, James A. "The Value of Thomas Davidson." *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* 40 (2004): 289–318.
Goodman, Russell B. *American Philosophy and the Romantic Tradition*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
——. *Wittgenstein and William James*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas. *The Occult Roots of Nazism: Secret Aryan Cults and Their Influence on Nazi Ideology*. New York: New York University Press, 1992.
Gosling, Francis George. *Before Freud: Neurasthenia and the American Medical Community, 1870–1910*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987.
Gottschalk, Stephen. *The Emergence of Christian Science in American Religious Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.

Gould, Stephen Jay. *Rock of Ages: Science and Religion in the Fullness of Life*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1999.
Gowans, Alan. *Styles and Types of North American Architecture: Social Function and Cultural Expression*. Boynton Beach: Icon Editions, 1992.
Graff, Gerald. *Beyond the Culture Wars: How Teaching the Conflicts Can Revitalize American Education*. New York: Norton, 1993.
Graham, Frank, and Ada Graham. *The Adirondacks Park: A Political History*. New York: Random House, 1984 [1978].
Grassie, William. *New Sciences of Religion: Exploring Spirituality from the Outside In and Bottom Up*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
Graumann, Carl F., and Kenneth J. Gergen, eds. *Historical Dimensions of Psychological Discourse*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
Gray, Richard T. *About Face: German Physiognomic Thought from Lavater to Auschwitz*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004.
Green, Judith M., ed. *Bernstein and the Pragmatist Turn in Contemporary Philosophy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
Green, Vivien M. "Hiram Powers's *Greek Slave*: Emblem of Freedom." *American Art Journal* 14 (1982): 31–39.
Greene, Mott. *Natural Knowledge in Preclassical Antiquity*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.
Greenslet, Ferris. *The Lowells and Their Seven Worlds*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1946.
Gregory, Frederick. *Scientific Materialism in Nineteenth-Century Germany*. Boston: D. Reidel, 1977.
Grimes, Melanie. "Resonance and Pain," *Interhomeopathy* (January 2007), http://www.interhomeopathy.org/resonance_and_pain.
Grohskopf, Bernice. "'I'll be a Farmer': Boyhood Letters of William James." *Virginia Quarterly Review* 66 (1990): 585–600.
Gruesser, John Cullen, ed. *The Unruly Voice: Rediscovering Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996.
Gunn, Giles. *Thinking across the American Grain: Ideology, Intellect, and the New Pragmatism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
———. Introduction to *The Correspondence of William James*, vol. 4: *1856–1877*, edited by Ignas K. Skrupskelis and Elizabeth M. Berkeley, xix–lii. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995.
Gunn, J. Alexander. *Modern French Philosophy: A Study of the Development since Comte*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1922.
Gunter, Susan. *Alice in Jamesland: The Story of Alice Howe Gibbens James*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
Haack, Susan. *Manifesto of a Passionate Moderate: Unfashionable Essays*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
Habegger, Alfred. "Henry James's Rewriting of Minny Temple's Letters." *American Literature* 58 (1986): 159–80.
———. "New Light on William James and Minny Temple." *New England Quarterly* 60 (1987): 28–53.

——. *Henry James and the "Woman Business."* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
——. "Henry James, Sr., in the Late 1830s." *New England Quarterly* 64 (1991): 46–81.
——. *The Father: A Life of Henry James, Senior.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1994.
Hadot, Pierre. *The Inner Citadel: The* Meditations *of Marcus Aurelius*. Translated by Michael Chase. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998 [1992].
——. *The Veil of Isis: An Essay on the History of the Idea of Nature*. Translated by Michael Chase. Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 2006.
Hahm, David E. *The Origins of Stoic Cosmology*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1977.
Hale, Edward. "Joseph Lovering." *Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, 11:442–43. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933.
Haller, John S., Jr. *Medical Protestants: The Eclectics in American Medicine, 1825–1939*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994.
——. *Kindly Medicine: Physio-Medicalism in America, 1836–1911*. Kent: Kent State University Press, 1997.
——. *The History of American Homeopathy: The Academic Years, 1820–1935*. New York: Pharmaceutical Products Press / Haworth Press, 2005.
——. *Swedenborg, Mesmer, and the Mind/Body Connection: The Roots of Complementary Medicine*. West Chester: Swedenborg Foundation, 2010.
Halliwell, Martin. *Romantic Science and the Experience of Self: Transatlantic Crosscurrents from William James to Oliver Sacks*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1999.
Halliwell, Martin, and Joel D. S. Rasmussen, eds. *William James and the Transatlantic Conversation: Pragmatism, Pluralism, and Philosophy of Religion*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
Hammond, Phillip E. *Sacred in a Secular Age: Toward Revision in the Scientific Study of Religion*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1985.
Hamner, M. Gail. *American Pragmatism: A Religious Genealogy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
Haney, David P. *William Wordsworth and the Hermeneutics of Incarnation*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993.
Hansen, Bert. *Picturing Medical Progress from Pasteur to Polio: A History of Mass Media Images and Popular Attitudes*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009.
Hard, Robin. *The Discourses of Epictetus*. London: Everyman, 1995.
Harding, Jonathan P. *The Boston Athenaeum Collection: Pre-Twentieth-Century American and European Painting and Sculpture*. Boston: Boston Athenaeum / Northeastern University Press, 1984.
Hare, Peter H. *Doing Philosophy Historically*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1968.
——. Introduction to *Some Problems of Philosophy*. In *The Works of William James*, edited by Frederick Burkhardt et al., xiii–xli. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979.
Harlow, Virginia. *Thomas Sergeant Perry: A Biography; and Letters to Perry from William, Henry, and Garth Wilkinson James*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1950.

Harp, Gillis J. *Positivist Republic: Auguste Comte and the Reconstruction of American Liberalism, 1865–1920*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995.
Harper, Robert S. "The Laboratory of William James." *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* 52 (1948): 169–73.
Harrington, Anne. *Medicine, Mind, and Double Brain: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
Harrington, Thomas Francis. *The Harvard Medical School: A History, Narrative and Documentary*. New York: Lewis Publishing, 1905.
Harris, Sam. *Free Will*. New York: Free Press, 2012.
Haskell, Thomas L., ed. *The Authority of Experts: Studies in History and Theory*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1984.
Hastings, Katherine. "William James of Albany, N.Y., and His Descendants." *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 55 (1924): 101–19.
Haught, John. *Science and Religion: From Conflict to Conversation*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1995.
Hawkins, Hugh. *Between Harvard and America: The Educational Leadership of Charles W. Eliot*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
Hawthorne, Julian. *The Memoirs of Julian Hawthorne*. New York: Macmillan, 1938.
Hazen, Craig James. *The Village Enlightenment in America: Popular Religion and Science in the Nineteenth Century*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000.
Hearst, Eliot, ed. *The First Century of Experimental Psychology*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1979.
Hedstrom, Matthew S. *The Rise of Religious Liberalism: Book Culture and American Spirituality in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.
Heidelberger, Michael. *Nature from Within: Gustav Theodor Fechner and His Psychophysical Worldview*. Translated by Cynthia Klohr. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004.
Helmstadter, Richard J., and Bernard Lightman, eds. *Victorian Faith in Crisis: Essays on Continuity and Change in Nineteenth-Century Religious Beliefs*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.
Higgins, Reynold Alleyne. *Tanagra and the Figurines*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
Hobhouse, Henry. *Seeds of Change: Five Plants That Transformed Mankind*. New York: Harper and Row, 1986.
Hoganson, Kristin L. *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
Hollinger, David A. "The Problem of Pragmatism in American History." *Journal of American History* 67 (1980): 88–107.
———. "What Is Darwinism? It Is Calvinism!" *Reviews in American History* 8 (1980): 80–85.
———. "Tonic Destruction: The Ethics of Science in Modern United States History." Paper presented at the conference on Religion and the History of American Intellectual Life, Program on American Society and Politics, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, March 13–14, 1986.
———. *Science, Jews, and Secular Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
Hopper, R. J. *The Early Greeks*. New York: Harper and Row, 1977.

Horsman, Reginald. *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981.

Horwitz, Rivka. *Buber's Way to "I and Thou": The Development of Martin Buber's Thought and His "Religion as Presence" Lectures*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1988 [1978].

Houghton, Walter E. *The Victorian Frame of Mind: 1830–1870*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.

Hughes, H. Stuart. *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890–1930*. Rev. ed. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2002 [1958].

Hutchison, William. *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Irmscher, Christoph. *The Poetics of Natural History, from John Bartram to William James*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1999.

Jacyna, L. S. "The Physiology of Mind, the Unity of Nature, and the Moral Order in Victorian Thought." *British Journal for the History of Science* 14 (1981): 109–32.

——. "Somatic Theories of Mind and the Interests of Medicine in Britain, 1850–1879." *Medical History* 26 (1982): 233–58.

Jaeger, Werner. *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*. 3 vols. Translated by Gilbert Highet. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1939–44.

Jeannerod, Marc. *The Brain Machine: The Development of Neurological Thought*. Translated by David Urion. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985.

Jenkyns, Richard. *Dignity and Decadence: Victorian Art and the Classical Inheritance*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Johnson, Mark. *The Meaning of the Body: The Aesthetics of Human Understanding*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

——. *Morality for Humans: Ethical Understanding from the Perspective of Cognitive Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014.

Jones, Caroline A., and Peter Galison, eds. *Picturing Science, Producing Art*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Kalat, James. *Biological Psychology*. Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2004.

Kallen, Horace M. "Remarks on R. B. Perry's Portrait of William James." *Philosophical Review* 46 (1937), 68–78.

Kaufman, Martin. *Homeopathy in America: Rise and Fall of a Medical Heresy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971.

Kazin, Alfred. "William James: To Be Born Again." *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 54 (1993): 244–58.

Kelley, Cornelia Pulsifer. *The Early Development of Henry James*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965.

Kelly, William L. *Psychology of the Unconscious: Mesmer, Janet, Freud, Jung, and Current Issues*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1991.

Kennedy, George A. *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Kett, Joseph F. *The Formation of the American Medical Profession: The Role of Institutions, 1780–1860*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.

King, John Owen, III. *The Iron of Melancholy: Structures of Spiritual Conversion in America from the Puritan Conscience to Victorian Neurosis*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1983.

Kirschmann, Anne Taylor. *A Vital Force: Women in American Homeopathy*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004.

Kittelstrom, Amy. "Too Hidebound: Heeding Inner Divinity and Stemming Class Prejudice in a Republic of Truths." *William James Studies* 4 (2009): 21–35.

———. *The Religion of Democracy: Seven Liberals and the American Moral Tradition*. New York: Penguin Press, 2015.

Kloppenberg, James T. *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

———. "The Authority of Evidence and the Boundaries of Interpretation." *Intellectual History Newsletter* 17 (1995): 7–15.

———. "Pragmatism: An Old Name for Some New Ways of Thinking?" *Journal of American History* 83 (June 1996): 100–138.

———. *Reading Obama: Dreams, Hope, and the American Political Tradition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Knox, Bernard. *The Oldest Dead White European Males and Other Reflections on the Classics*. New York: Norton, 1993.

Koch, Sigmund, and David Leary, eds. *A Century of Psychology as Science*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1985.

Kolakowski, Leszek. *God Owes Us Nothing: A Brief Remark on Pascal's Religion and on the Spirit of Jansenism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Kreuzer, Helmut. "Herman Grimms *Unüberwindliche Mächte*." In *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur: Neue Welt, Nordamerika, USA*, edited by Sigrid Bauschingen et al., 205–17. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1975.

Kristeva, Julia. *New Maladies of the Soul*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.

Krüger, Lorenz, et al., eds. *The Probabilistic Revolution*. 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987.

Kuhn, Thomas. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970 [1962].

Kuklick, Bruce. *The Rise of American Philosophy Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1860–1930*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

Lachs, John. "The Transcendence of Materialism and Idealism in American Thought." In *Doctrine and Experience: Essays in American Philosophy*, edited by Vincent G. Potter, 190–204. New York: Fordham University Press, 1988.

Lamberth, David C. *William James and the Metaphysics of Experience*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Lane, Ann J. *To Herland and Beyond: The Life and Work of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1990.

Lang, Bernhard. *Sacred Games: A History of Christian Worship*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Larson, Edward. *Sex, Race, and Science: Eugenics in the Deep South*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Laskaris, Julie. *The Art Is Long: On the Sacred Disease and the Scientific Tradition*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
Latham, Jacqueline E. M. "Henry James Senior's Mrs. Chichester." *Henry James Review* 14 (1993): 132–40.
Lears, T. J. Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Anti-modernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1981.
Leary, David. "William James and the Art of Human Understanding." *American Psychologist* 47 (1992): 152–60.
——. "The Influence of Literature in the Life and Work of William James." Unpublished paper, Workshop in the History of the Human Sciences, Fishbein Center, University of Chicago, May 2005.
——. "New Insights into William James's Personal Crisis in the Early 1870s: Part I. Arthur Schopenhauer on the Origins and Nature of the Crisis," and "Part II. John Bunyan and the Resolution and Consequences of the Crisis." *William James Studies* 11 (2015): 1–27, 28–45.
Legan, Marshall Scott. "Hydropathy in America: A Nineteenth Century Panacea." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 45 (1971): 267–80.
Lenoir, Timothy. *The Strategy of Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
Lesch, John E. *Science and Medicine in France: The Emergence of Experimental Physiology, 1790- 1855*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.
——. "The Paris Academy of Medicine and Experimental Medicine Science, 1820-1848." In *The Investigative Enterprise*, edited by William Coleman and Fredrick Holmes, 100–138. Berkley: University of California Press, 1988.
Levine, Joseph M. *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.
——. *Between the Ancients and the Moderns*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
Levine, Lawrence. *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.
Levinson, Henry Samuel. *The Religious Investigations of William James*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981.
——. *Santayana, Pragmatism, and the Spiritual Life*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.
Lewis, R. W. B. *The Jameses: A Family Narrative*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1991.
Licht, Sidney, ed. *Medical Hydrology*. Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1963.
Lightman, Bernard. *Evolutionary Naturalism in Victorian Britain: The "Darwinians" and Their Critics*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009.
——, ed. *Victorian Science in Context*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
Linschoten, Johannes. *On the Way toward a Phenomenological Psychology*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1968.
Lippy, Charles, and Peter W. Williams, eds. *Encyclopedia of Religion in America*. 4 vols. Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2010.
Lindberg, David C., and Ronald L. Numbers, eds. *God and Nature: Essays on the Encounter between Christianity and Science*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Livingston, Alexander. *Damn Great Empires! William James and the Politics of Pragmatism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
Livingston, James. "Hamlet, James, and the Woman Question." *Raritan* 17 (1997): 49–72.
Livingstone, David N. *Nathaniel Southgate Shaler and the Culture of American Science*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1987.
Lockridge, Kenneth A. *The Diary, and Life, of William Byrd II of Virginia, 1674–1744*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.
Logue, William. *Charles Renouvier, Philosopher of Liberty*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993.
Long, A. A. *Hellenistic Philosophy: Stoics, Epicureans, Sceptics*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974.
——. *Epictetus: A Stoic and Socratic Guide to Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
Long, Wilbur Harry. "The Philosophy of Charles Renouvier and Its Influence upon William James." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1925.
Lovejoy, Arthur. "Schiller and the Genesis of German Romanticism." In *Essays in the History of Ideas*, 207–23. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1948.
Lovering, Joseph P. *S. Weir Mitchell*. New York: Twayne Publishing, 1971.
Ludmerer, Kenneth M. *Learning to Heal: The Development of American Medical Education*. New York: Basic Books, 1985.
Lurie, Edward. *Louis Agassiz: A Life in Science*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.
Lutz, Tom. *American Nervousness, 1903: An Anecdotal History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.
Lycan, Gilbert. *Stetson University: The First One Hundred Years*. DeLand, FL: Stetson University Press, 1983.
Maas, Harro. *William Stanley Jevons and the Making of Modern Economics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
Machado, Maria Helena P. T., ed. *Brazil through the Eyes of William James: Letters, Diaries, and Drawings, 1865–1866*. Bilingual edition. Translated by John M. Monteiro. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.
MacIntyre, Alasdair. *God, Philosophy, Universities: A Selective History of the Catholic Philosophical Tradition*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2009.
MacMullen, Ramsay. *Christianizing the Roman Empire (A.D. 100–400)*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.
Madden, Edward H. *Chauncey Wright and the Foundations of Pragmatism*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1963.
Madden, Marian C., and Edward H. Madden. "The Psychosomatic Illnesses of William James." *Thought: A Review of Culture and Ideas* 54 (1979): 376–92.
Magee, Michael. *Emancipating Pragmatism: Emerson, Jazz, and Experimental Writing*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004.
Maher, Jane. *Biography of Broken Fortunes: Wilkie and Bob, Brothers of William, Henry, and Alice James*. Hamden, CT: Archon, 1986.
Mallowy, J. P. *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology, and Myth*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1989.

Mansfield, Harvey. "The Manliness of Theodore Roosevelt." *New Criterion* (2005): 4–9.
Manthorne, Katherine Emma. *Tropical Renaissance: North American Artists Exploring Latin America, 1839–1879*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989.
Marchand, Suzanne. *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
———. "Philhellenism and the Furor Orientalis." *Modern Intellectual History* 1 (2004): 331–58.
Marcou, Jules. *Life, Letters, and Works of Louis Agassiz*. New York: Macmillan, 1895.
Margolis, Joseph. *Pragmatism without Foundations: Reconciling Realism and Relativism*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1986.
Marsden, George, and Bradley J. Longfield, eds. *The Secularization of the Academy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
Martin, Luther H. *Hellenistic Religions: An Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
Martinson, Steven D. *Harmonious Tensions: The Writings of Friedrich Schiller*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996.
Marty, Martin, E. *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1984.
Matteson, John T. "'Their Facts Are Patent and Startling': William James and Mental Healing." *Streams of William James* 4 (Spring 2002): 2–8; 4 (Summer 2002): 3–7.
Matthews, J. Rosser. *Quantification and the Quest for Medical Certainty*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
Matthiessen, F. O. *The James Family: A Group Biography*. New York: Vintage, 1980 [1947].
Mazur, Eric Michael, and Katie McCarthy, eds. *God in the Details: American Religion in Popular Culture*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
McCarthy, Katherine. "Psychotherapy and Religion: The Emmanuel Movement." *Journal of Religion and Health* 23 (1984): 92–105.
McCaughey, Robert. "The Transformation of American Academic Life: Harvard University, 1821–1892." *Perspectives in American History* 8 (1974): 237–332.
McDermott, John J. *The Culture of Experience: Philosophical Essays in the American Grain*. New York: New York University Press, 1976.
———. *The Drama of Possibility: Experience as Philosophy of Culture*. Edited by Doug Anderson. New York: Fordham University Press, 2007.
McKenna, Erin. *The Task of Utopia: A Pragmatist and Feminist Perspective*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.
McKenna, Erin, and Andrew Light, eds. *Animal Pragmatism: Re-thinking Human—Non-human Relationships*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.
McPherson, James. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
McQuade, Donald. Introduction to *The Correspondence of William James*, vol. 9: *July 1899–1901*, edited by Ignas K. Skrupskelis and Elizabeth M. Berkeley, xxi–xli. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.
Menand, Louis. "William James and the Case of the Epileptic Patient." *New York Review of Books* (1998): 81–93.

——. *The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001.
——. *American Studies*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002.
Menzhausen, Joachim. "Five Centuries of Art Collecting in Dresden." In *The Splendor of Dresden: Five Centuries of Art Collecting, Presented by the State Art Collections of Dresden, German Democratic Republic*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978.
Michaelsen, Robert. "Identity and Conversion: Reflection on Nineteenth-Century American Religious Experience and Identity." In *Encounter with Erikson: Historical Interpretation and Religious Biography*, edited by Donald Capps, Walter H. Capps, and M. Gerald Bradford, 281–339. American Academy of Religion / University of California Santa Barbara Joint Series on Formative Contemporary Thinkers, no. 2. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977.
Micozzi, Marc S. *Fundamentals of Complementary and Alternative Medicine*. Secaucus: Churchill-Livingstone, 1996.
Middlekauff, Robert. *Ancients and Axioms: Secondary Education in Eighteenth-Century New England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.
Millar, Fergus. *Rome, the Greek World, and the East: Government, Society, and Culture in the Roman Empire*. 2 vols. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
Miller, Dickenson S. "The Will to Believe and the Duty to Doubt." *International Journal of Ethics* 9 (1898–99): 169–95.
——. Review of Bixler, *Religion in the Philosophy of William James*. *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Method* 24 (1927): 203–10.
——. *Philosophical Analysis and Human Welfare*. Boston: D. Reidel, 1975.
Miller, Joshua I. *Democratic Temperament: The Legacy of William James*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997.
Miller, Larry C. "William James and Twentieth-Century Ethnic Thought." *American Quarterly* 31 (1979): 533–55.
Misak, Cheryl, ed. *The New Pragmatists*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009 [2007].
Moore, Edward C. *American Pragmatism: Peirce, James, and Dewey*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.
Moore, James R. *The Post-Darwinian Controversies: A Study of the Protestant Struggle to Come to Terms with Darwin in Great Britain and America, 1870–1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
Moore, Robert Laurence. *In Search of White Crows: Spiritualism, Parapsychology, and American Culture*. New York: Oxford, 1977.
Morgan, David, and Sally M. Promey, eds. *The Visual Culture of American Religions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
Morris, Charles. *Pragmatism and the Crisis of Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.
Morrison, Samuel Eliot, ed. *The Development of Harvard University since the Inauguration of President Eliot, 1869–1929*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930.
——. *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636–1936*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936.

Moskowitz, Richard. *Resonance: The Homeopathic Point of View*. Philadelphia: Xlibris, 2001.
Murphey, Murray. *The Development of Peirce's Philosophy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961.
——. "Kant's Children: The Cambridge Pragmatists." *Transactions of the Charles Sanders Peirce Society* 6 (1968): 3–33.
Murphy, John P. *Pragmatism: From Peirce to Davidson*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1990.
Murphy, Nancey. *Anglo-American Postmodernity: Philosophical Perspectives on Science, Religion, and Ethics*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1997.
——. *Bodies and Souls, or Spirited Bodies? Human Nature at the Intersection*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
Myers, Gerald E. *William James: His Life and Thought*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.
Myers, Robert. "Putnam and the Permanence of Pragmatism." *Transactions of the Peirce Society* 34 (1998): 366–81.
National Institutes of Health. *Alternative Medicine: Expanding Medical Horizons*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1995.
Nelson, Christopher A. P. "The Artificial Mystic State of Mind: William James, Benjamin Paul Blood and the Nitrous-Oxide Variety of Religious Experience." *Streams of William James* 4 (2002): 23–31.
Nilsson, Martin P. *A History of Greek Religions*. Westbrook, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980 [1949].
Nissenbaum, Stephen. *Sex, Diet, and Debility in Jacksonian America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980.
Noll, Richard. "Moreau de Tours, Jacques Joseph." In *Encyclopedia of Schizophrenia and the Psychotic Disorders*, 280–81. Edited by Richard Noll. New York: Facts on File, 2000.
Novak, Barbara. *Nature and Culture: American Landscape Painting, 1825–1875*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
——. *Voyages of the Self: Pairs, Parallels, and Patterns in American Art and Literature*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
Numbers, Ronald. "Science and Religion." *Osiris*, 2nd ser., 1 (1985): 59–80.
——. *The Creationists: From Scientific Creationism to Intelligent Design*. Expanded edition. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006 [1992].
Nussbaum, Martha Craven. *The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009 [1994].
Oates, Stephen B. *To Purge This Land with Blood: A Biography of John Brown*. New York: Harper and Row, 1970.
O'Connell, Robert J. *William James on the Courage to Believe*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1984.
O'Donnell, John M. *The Origins of Behaviorism: American Psychology, 1870–1920*. New York: New York University, 1985.
Ogilvie, R. M. *The Romans and Their Gods in the Age of Augustus*. New York: Norton, 1969.

Oliver, Phil. *William James's "Springs of Delight": The Return to Life*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2001.
Olmstead, J. *Charles Edouard Brown-Séquard: A Nineteenth-Century Neurologist and Endocrinologist*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1946.
Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
Oppenheim, Frank M. *Reverence for the Relations of Life: Re-imagining Pragmatism via Josiah Royce's Interactions with Peirce, James, and Dewey*. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2005.
Orsi, Robert A. *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880–1950*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
Orvell, Miles. *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880–1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
Ostrander, Richard. *The Life of Prayer in a World of Science: Protestants, Prayer, and American Culture, 1870–1930*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
O'Sullivan, John, and Alan M. Meckler, eds. *The Draft and Its Enemies: A Documentary History*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974.
Otis, Laura. "The Metaphoric Circuit: Organic and Technological Communication in the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 63 (2002): 105–28.
Otto, Rudolf. *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1952.
Painter, Nell Irvin. *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877–1919*. New York: Norton, 1987.
Parrish, Paul A. *Richard Crashaw*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1980.
Paulin, Roger. "*Hamlet* in Germany," http://triggs.djvu.org/global-language.com/ENFOLDED/BIBL/____HamGer.htm.
Pawelski, James O. *The Dynamic Individualism of William James*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007.
Peacocke, Arthur R. *Theology for a Scientific Age: Being and Becoming—Natural, Divine, and Human*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993 [1990].
Pennock, Robert, ed. *Intelligent Design Creationism and Its Critics: Philosophical, Theological, and Scientific Perspectives*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001.
Perry, Ralph Barton. "Correspondence de Charles Renouvier et de William James." *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale* 36 (1929): 1–35.
——. "Religion versus Morality According to the Elder Henry James." *International Journal of Ethics*. 42 (1932): 289–303.
Peterson, Gregory. "Whither Panentheism?" *Zygon* 36 (2001): 395–405.
Pettegrew, John, ed. *A Pragmatist's Progress, Richard Rorty and American Intellectual History*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.
Phatak, S. R. *Materia Medica of Homeopathic Medicines*. New Delhi: Indian Books and Periodicals Syndicate, 1977.
Pickering, Mary. *Auguste Comte: An Intellectual Biography*. Vol. 1. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
Poggi, Stefano, and Maurizio Bossi, eds. *Romanticism in Science: Science in Europe, 1790–1840*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1994.

Polanyi, Michael, and Harry Prosch. *Meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.

Porter, Theodore M. *The Rise of Statistical Thinking, 1820–1900*. Princeton: Princeton University Press 1986.

Posnock, Ross. *The Trial of Curiosity: Henry James, William James, and the Challenge of Modernity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Pratt, Scott L. *Native Pragmatism: Rethinking the Roots of American Philosophy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002.

Price, Robin. "Hydropathy in England, 1840–70." *Medical History* 25 (1981): 269–80.

Price, Simon R. F. *Religions of the Ancient Greeks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Priebe, Cedric Joseph, III. "James's Application of Darwinian Theory to Consciousness and Emotion in the *Principles*." Senior honors thesis, Harvard University, 1984.

Promey, Sally. "The Ribband of Faith: George Inness, Color Theory, and the Swedenborgian Church." *American Art Journal* 26 (1994): 44–65.

Proudfoot, Wayne, ed. *William James and a Science of Religions: Reexperiencing* The Varieties of Religious Experience. New York: Columbia, 2004.

Pulsifer Kelley, Cornelia. *The Early Development of Henry James*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965.

Putnam, Hilary. *Pragmatism: An Open Question*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995.

Putnam, Ruth Anna, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to William James*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Rabinbach, Anson. *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity*. New York: Basic Books, 1990.

Raizis, M. Byron, and Alexander J. Papas. *American Poets and the Greek Revolution, 1821–1828: A Study in Byronic Philhellenism*. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1971.

Ramsey, Bennett. *Submitting to Freedom: The Religious Vision of William James*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Rath, Richard Cullen. "Echo and Narcissus: The Afrocentric Pragmatism of W. E. B. Du Bois." *Journal of American History* 84 (1997), 461–95.

Ratner-Rosenhagen, Jennifer. *American Nietzsche: A History of an Icon and His Ideas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Read, Rupert, and Kenneth Richman, eds. *The New Hume Debate*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Reddick, John. *Georg Büchner: The Shattered Whole*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Reed, Edward S. *From Soul to Mind: The Emergence of Psychology from Erasmus Darwin to William James*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Reilly, Philip. *The Surgical Solution: A History of Involuntary Sterilization in the United States*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Reinhold, Meyer. *Classica Americana: The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984.

Reuben, Julie. *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Reynolds, Donald M. "The 'Unveiled Soul': Hiram Powers's Embodiment of the Ideal." *Art Bulletin* 59 (1977): 394–414.

———. *Hiram Powers and His Ideal Sculpture*. New York: Garland, 1977.

Rhodes, Royal W. *The Lion and the Cross: Early Christianity in Victorian Novels*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1995.

Richard, Carl J. *The Founders and the Classics: Greece, Rome, and the American Enlightenment*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Richards, Robert J. "The Personal Equation in Science: William James's Psychological and Moral Uses of Darwinian Theory." In *A William James Renaissance: Four Essays by Young Scholars*, edited by Mark R. Schwehn, 387–425. *Harvard Library Bulletin* 30 (1982).

———. *Darwin and the Emergence of Evolutionary Theories of Mind and Behavior*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Richardson, Joan. *A Natural History of Pragmatism: The Fact of the Feeling from Jonathan Edwards to Gertrude Stein*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Richardson, Robert D. *William James: In the Maelstrom of American Modernism*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006.

Richter, Gisela M. A. *The Portraits of the Greeks*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984 [1965].

Rieber, Robert W., and David K. Robinson, eds. *Wilhelm Wundt in History: The Making of a Scientific Psychology*. New York: Plenum, 2001.

Roback, A. A. *William James, His Marginalia, Personality and Contribution*. Cambridge: Sci-Art Publishers, 1942.

Roberts, Jon, and James Turner. *The Sacred and Secular University*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Robinson, Daniel N. *An Intellectual History of Psychology*. Rev. ed. New York: Macmillan, 1981 [1976].

———. *Toward a Science of Human Nature: Essays on the Psychologies of Mill, Hegel, Wundt, and James*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

Rodgers, Daniel T. *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850- 1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.

Rogers, Naomi. *An Alternative Path: The Making and Remaking of Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital of Philadelphia*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998.

Roof, Wade Clark. *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation*. San Francisco: Harper, 1993.

———. *Spiritual Marketplace: Baby Boomers and the Remaking of American Religion*. Princeton: Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Rorty, Richard. *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

———. *Consequences of Pragmatism: Essays, 1972–1980*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982.

———. *Contingency, Irony, Solidarity*. Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Rosenberg, Charles. "The Place of George M. Beard in Nineteenth-Century Psychiatry." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 36 (1962): 245–59.

——. *Right Living: An American Tradition of Self-Help, Medicine, and Hygiene*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.
Rosenberg, David. *The Hidden Holmes: His Theory of Torts in History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.
Rosenzweig, Saul. *Freud, Jung, and Hall the King-Maker: The Expedition to America (1909)*. Seattle: Hogrefe & Huber Publishers, 1992.
Ross, Dorothy. *The Origin of American Social Science*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
——, ed. *Modernist Impulses in the Human Sciences, 1870–1930*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.
Ross, Sydney. "'Scientist': The Story of a Word." *Annals of Science* 18 (1962): 65–85.
Roth, John. *Freedom and Morality: The Ethics of William James*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969.
Roth, Robert. *British Empiricism and American Pragmatism: New Directions and Neglected Arguments*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1993.
——. *Radical Pragmatism: An Alternative*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1998.
Rothstein, William G. *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century: From Sects to Science*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.
Rubin, Julius. *Religious Melancholy and Protestant Experience in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
Ruf, Frederick J. *The Creation of Chaos: William James and the Stylistic Making of a Disorderly World*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991.
Russell, Bertrand. *The Will to Doubt*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1958.
Russell, R. J., W. R. Stoeger, and G. V. Coyne, eds. *Physics, Philosophy and Theology: A Common Quest for Understanding*. 2nd ed. Vatican City State: Vatican Observatory Publications, 1995.
Rutherford, R. B. *The* Meditations *of Marcus Aurelius: A Study*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
Ryan, Judith. *The Vanishing Subject: Early Psychology and Literary Modernism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
Rylance, Rick. *Victorian Psychology and British Culture, 1850–1880*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
Sambursky, S. *Physics of the Stoics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987 [1959].
Sanford, Gifford. *The Emmanuel Movement: The Origins of Group Treatment and the Assault on Lay Psychotherapy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.
Sarna, Nahum M. *Understanding Genesis*. New York: Schocken, 1970 [1966].
Saunders, Richard. *John Smibert: Colonial America's First Portrait Painter*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
Scarborough, Milton. *Myth and Modernity: Postcritical Reflections*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994.
Schmidt, Dennis J. *On Germans and Other Greeks: Tragedy and Ethical Life*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.
Schmidt, Leigh Eric. *Restless Souls: The Making of American Spirituality from Emerson to Oprah*. San Francisco: Harper, 2005.
Schor, Naomi. *Reading in Detail: Aesthetics and the Feminine*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Schrager, Cynthia. "Both Sides of the Veil: Race, Science, and Mysticism in W. E. B. Du Bois." *American Quarterly* 48 (1996): 551–86.

Schultz, William Todd, ed. *Handbook of Psychobiography*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Schwehn, Mark R. "Making the World: William James and the Life of the Mind." In *A William James Renaissance: Four Essays by Young Scholars*, edited by Schwehn, 426–54. *Harvard Library Bulletin* 30 (1982).

Scull, Andrew, ed. *Madhouses, Mad-Doctors, and Madmen: The Social History of Psychiatry in the Victorian Era*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.

Scully, Vincent. *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture*. Rev. ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.

Seigfried, Charlene Haddock. *Chaos and Context: A Study in William James*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1978.

———. *William James's Radical Reconstruction of Philosophy*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990.

———. *Pragmatism and Feminism: Reweaving the Social Fabric*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996.

Sellars, John. *Stoicism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Shalhope, Robert. "Toward a Republican Synthesis." *William and Mary Quarterly* 29, 3rd ser., (1972): 49–80.

Shermer, Michael. *Why Darwin Matters: The Case against Intelligent Design*. New York: Henry Holt, 2006.

Shi, David E. *Facing Facts: Realism in American Thought and Culture, 1850–1920*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Shields, John C. *The American Aeneas: Classical Origins of the American Self*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001.

Shortland, Michael, and Richard Yeo, eds. *Telling Lives in Science: Essays in Scientific Biography*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Shusterman, Richard, ed. *The Range of Pragmatism and the Limits of Philosophy*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 2004.

———. *Body Consciousness: A Philosophy of Mindfulness and Somaesthetics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Sicherman, Barbara. "The Paradox of Prudence: Mental Health in the Gilded Age." In *Madhouses, Mad-Doctors, and Madmen: The Social History of Psychiatry in the Victorian Era*, edited by Andrew Scull, 218–40. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.

Silber, Nina. *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Simon, Linda. *Genuine Reality: A Life of William James*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1998.

———. "William James at Stanford." *California History* 69 (1999): 332–41.

Sklansky, Jeffrey. *The Soul's Economy: Market Society and Selfhood in American Thought, 1820–1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Skrbina, David. *Panpsychism in the West*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007.

Skrupskelis, Ignas, et al. "Notes," in *Manuscript Essays and Notes*. In *The Works of William James*, edited by Frederick Burkhardt et al., 323–53. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Slotten, Ross A. *The Heretic in Darwin's Court: The Life of Alfred Russel Wallace*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Smith, Anthony. *Explorers of the Amazon*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Smith, Carleton Sprague. "William James in Brazil." In *Four Papers Presented in the Institute for Brazilian Studies, Vanderbilt University*, edited by Charles Wagley et al., 97–138. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1951.

Smith, John E. *Purpose and Thought: The Meaning of Pragmatism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978.

——. *America's Philosophical Vision*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Smith, Richard Cándida. *Mallarmé's Children: Symbolism and the Renewal of Experience*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Smith, Roger. *Inhibition: History and Meaning in the Sciences of Mind and Brain*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Snarey, John, and Lynn Bridgers. "From Father to Son: Generative Care and Gradual Conversion in William James's Writing of *The Varieties*." *Journal of Moral Education* 32 (2003): 329–40.

Snow, C. P. *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959.

Snyder, Laura J. *The Philosophical Breakfast Club: Four Remarkable Friends Who Transformed Science and Changed the World*. New York: Broadway Books, 2011.

Spies, Kathleen. "Figuring the Neurasthenic: Thomas Eakins, Nervous Illness, and Gender in Victorian America." *Nineteenth Century Studies* 12 (1998): 85–109.

Sprigge, T. L. S. *James and Bradley: American Truth and British Reality*. Chicago: Open Court, 1993.

Spurlock, John C. *Free Love: Marriage and Middle-Class Radicalism in America, 1825–1860*. New York: New York University Press, 1988.

Starr, Paul. *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*. New York: Basic Books, 1982.

Steier, Frederick, ed. *Research and Reflexivity*. London: Sage, 1991.

Stern, Madeleine B. Introduction to *The Journals of Louisa May Alcott*, edited by Joel Myerson et al., 3–40. Boston: Little, Brown, 1989.

Stewart, Andrew. *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration*. Vol. 1: *Text*. New Haven: Yale University, 1990.

Stewart, John, et al., eds. *Enaction: Toward a New Paradigm for Cognitive Science*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010.

Stigler, Stephen M. *Statistics on the Table: The History of Statistical Concepts and Methods*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986.

Stroud, Scott. "James and the Impetus of Stoic Rhetoric." *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 45 (2012): 246–68.

Strouse, Jean. *Alice James*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980.

Strout, Cushing. "William James and the Twice-Born Sick Soul." *Daedalus* 97 (1968): 1062–82.

——. *The Veracious Imagination: Essays on American History, Literature, and Biography*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1981.
Stuhr, John J., ed. *100 Years of Pragmatism: William James's Revolutionary Philosophy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010.
Suckiel, Ellen K. *The Pragmatic Philosophy of William James*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1982.
——. Introduction to *Some Problems of Philosophy*, vii–xii. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.
——. *Heaven's Champion: William James's Philosophy of Religion*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996.
Sullivan, Shannon. *Living across and through Skins: Transactional Bodies, Pragmatism, and Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.
Sutton, Emma. "Marcus Aurelius, William James and the 'Science of Religions.'" *William James Studies* 4 (2009): 70–89.
——. "Interpreting 'Mind-Cure': William James and the 'Chief Task . . . of the Science of Human Nature.'" *Journal of the History of Behavioral Sciences* 48 (2012): 115–33.
——. "Re-writing the Laws of Health: William James on the Politics and Philosophy of Disease in Nineteenth-Century America." Ph.D. diss., University College London, 2013.
Talisse, Robert. *Democracy after Liberalism: Pragmatism and Deliberative Democracy*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
——. *A Pragmatist Philosophy of Democracy*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
Talisse, Robert, and Micah Hester. *On James: Philosophy as Vision*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2004.
Tarver, Erin C. "Particulars, Practices, and Pragmatic Feminism: Breaking Rules and Rulings with William James." *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 21 (2007): 275–90.
Tarver, Erin C., and Shannon Sullivan, eds. *William James and Feminism: Rereading the Canon*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015.
Taves, Ann. *Fits, Trances, and Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
——. "Religious Experience and the Divisible Self: William James (and Frederic Myers) as Theorist(s) of Religion." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* (2003) 71 (2): 303–26.
Taylor, Charles. *Varieties of Religion Today: William James Revisited*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.
——. *A Secular Age*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.
Taylor, Eugene I. "Psychology of Religion and Asian Studies: The William James Legacy." *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* 10 (1978): 66–79.
——. "William James on Psychopathology: The 1896 Lowell Lectures on 'Exceptional Mental States.'" In *A William James Renaissance: Four Essays by Young Scholars*, edited by Mark R. Schwehn, 455–79. *Harvard Library Bulletin* 30 (1982).
——. *William James on Exceptional Mental States: The 1896 Lowell Lectures*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983.
——. "Homeopathic Medicine." *Alternative Therapies in Health and Medicine* 1 (1995): 72–73.

——. *William James on Consciousness beyond the Margin*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
——. "The Interior Landscape: George Inness and William James on Art from a Swedenborgian Point of View." *Archives of American Art Journal* 37 (1997): 2–10.
Taylor, Eugene, and Robert H. Wozniak, eds. *Pure Experience: The Response to William James*. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1996.
Taylor, Michael W. *The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer*. New York: Continuum, 2007.
Thayer, Horace Standish. *Meaning and Action: A Critical History of Pragmatism*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968.
Thomas, John L. *Alternative America: Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Henry Demarest Lloyd, and the Adversary Tradition*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1983.
Throntveit, Trygve. "James, Obama and Deliberative Pragmatism." Paper presented at the conference "In the Footsteps of William James." Chocorua, NH, 2010.
——. *William James and the Quest for an Ethical Republic*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
Tone, Andrea. *The Age of Anxiety: A History of America's Turbulent Affair with Tranquilizers*. New York: Basic Books, 2009.
Townsend, Kim. *Manhood at Harvard: William James and Others*. New York: Norton, 1996.
Tracy, Sarah W., and Caroline Jean Acker, eds. *Altering American Consciousness: The History of Alcohol and Drug Use in the United States, 1800–2000*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004.
Trufant, Laurel Warren. "William James and the Mind-Cure Controversy." *Retrospection* 2 (1989): 32–47.
Turner, Frank Miller. *Between Science and Religion: The Reaction to Scientific Naturalism in Late Victorian England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974.
——. *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.
Turner, James. *Without God, Without Creed: The Origins of Unbelief in America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.
——. *Religion Enters the Academy: The Origins of the Scholarly Study of Religion in America*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011.
Turner, James, and Bradley J. Longfield, ed. *The Secularization of the Academy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
Tyler, H. Richard, and K. L. Tyler. "Charles Édouard Brown-Séquard: Professor of Physiology and Pathology of the Nervous System at Harvard Medical School." *Neurology* 34 (1984): 1231–36.
Tymoczko, Dmitri. "The Nitrous Oxide Philosopher." *Atlantic Monthly* 277 (1996): 93–101.
The Upanishads. Translated by Eknath Easwaran. Berkeley: Nilgiri Press, 2007.
Van Buren, John. *The Young Heidegger: Rumor of the Hidden King*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.
Vance, William L. *America's Rome*. Vol. 1: *Classical Rome*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
Vanden Burgt, Robert J. *The Religious Philosophy of William James*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1981.

Vernant, Jean-Pierre. *Myth and Thought among the Greeks*. New York: Zone Books, 2006 [1983].

Veyne, Paul. *Did the Greeks Believe in Their Myths: An Essay on the Constitutive Imagination*. Translated by Paula Wissing. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988 [1983].

Viney, Donald Wayne. "William James on Free Will: The French Connection." *History of Philosophy Quarterly* 14 (1997): 29–52.

———. "Jules Lequyer and the Openness of God." *Faith and Philosophy* 14 (1997): 212–35.

———. "The American Reception of Jules Lequyer: From James to Hartshorne." *American Journal of Theology and Philosophy* 36 (2015): 260–77.

Vogel, Morris, and Charles Rosenberg, eds. *The Therapeutic Revolution: Essays in the Social History of American Medicine*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979.

Voorsanger, Catherine, and John Howatt, eds. *Art and the Empire City: New York, 1825- 1861*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Wallach, Alan. *Exhibiting Contradictions: Essays on the Art Museum in the United States*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998.

Walls, Laura Dassow. *Seeing New Worlds: Henry David Thoreau and Nineteenth-Century Natural Science*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995.

Walters, Ronald G., ed. *Scientific Authority and Twentieth-Century America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Warner, John Harley. " 'The Nature-Trusting Heresy': American Physicians and the Concept of the Healing Power of Nature in the 1850s and 1860s." *Perspectives in American History* 11 (1977–78), 291–324.

———. *The Therapeutic Perspective: Medical Practice, Knowledge, and Identity in America, 1820–1885*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986.

———. "Ideals of Science and Their Discontents in Late Nineteenth-Century American Medicine." *Isis* 82 (1991): 454–78.

———. *Against the Spirit of System: The French Impulse in Nineteenth-Century American Medicine*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

———. "Orthodoxy and Otherness: Homeopathy and Regular Medicine in Nineteenth-Century America." In *Culture, Knowledge, and Healing: Historical Perspectives of Homeopathic Medicine in Europe and North America*, edited by Robert Jütte et al., 5–29. Sheffield: European Association for the History of Medicine and Health Publications, 1998.

Warren, Austin. *The Elder Henry James*. New York: Macmillan, 1934.

Weber, Marianne. *J. J. Moreau de Tours, 1804–1884, und die experimentelle und therapeutische Verwendung von Haschisch in der Psychiatrie*. Zürich: Juris-Verlag, 1971.

Weisz, George. "Spas, Mineral Waters, and Hydrological Science in Twentieth-Century France." *Isis* 92 (2001): 451–83.

Wertheimer, Michael. *A Brief History of Psychology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.

West, Cornel. *The American Evasion of Philosophy: A Genealogy of Pragmatism*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.

——. *Keeping Faith: Philosophy and Race in America*. New York: Routledge, 1993.
Westbrook, Robert. *Democratic Hope: Pragmatism and the Politics of Truth*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.
Wetsel, David. *Pascal and Disbelief: Catechesis and Conversion in the "Pensées."* Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1995.
White, Christopher Glen. *Unsettled Minds: Psychology and the American Search for Spiritual Assurance, 1830–1940*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.
White, Morton. *Science and Sentiment in America: Philosophical Thought from Jonathan Edwards to John Dewey*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
——. *Pragmatism and the American Mind: Essays and Reviews in Philosophy and Intellectual History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.
Whorton, James. *Nature Cures: The History of Alternative Medicine in America*. New York: Oxford, 2002.
Wild, John. *The Radical Empiricism of William James*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969.
William James: The Psychology of Possibility. DVD. Directed by Fran Davidson. San Luis Obispo, CA: Davidson Films, 2011.
Wilshire, Bruce. *William James and Phenomenology: A Study of "The Principles of Psychology."* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968.
——. Introduction to *William James: The Essential Writings*, edited by Wilshire, xvii–lxv. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984.
——. *The Primal Roots of American Philosophy: Pragmatism, Phenomenology, and Native American Thought*. American and European Philosophy series, edited by Charles E. Scott and John J. Stuhr. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.
Wilson, A. N. *God's Funeral*. New York: Norton, 1999.
Wilson, Daniel J. *Science, Community, and the Transformation of American Philosophy, 1860–1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
Winston, Julian. *The Faces of Homoeopathy: An Illustrated History of the First 200 Years*. Tawa, New Zealand: Great Auk Publishing, 1999.
Winterer, Caroline. *The Culture of Classicism: Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life, 1780–1910*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.
Wood, Gordon. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969.
Woodward, William R., and Mitchell G. Ash, eds. *The Problematic Science: Psychology in Nineteenth-Century Thought*. New York: Praeger, 1982.
Wright, Gwendolyn. *Building the American Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983.
Wulff, David M. *Psychology of Religion, Classic and Contemporary Views*. New York: Wiley, 1991.
Wuthnow, Robert. *After Heaven: Spirituality in American since the 1950s*. Berkeley: University of California Press 1998.
Wyman, Mark. *Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880–1930*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
Young, Frederic Harold. *The Philosophy of Henry James, Senior*. New York: Bookman Associates, 1951.

Zenderland, Leila. *Measuring Minds: Henry Herbert Goddard and the Origins of American Intelligence Testing*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Zweig, Arnulf. "Karl Christian Friedrich Krause." *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Paul Edwards, 363–65. New York: Macmillan, 1967.

abolitionism. *See* emancipation of slaves
abstractions, philosophical: artificiality of, 7, 232–33; contrasted with particulars, 17, 45, 54, 66, 203, 205, 273–74; and gender, 38–49; immaterial dimensions of, 19; WJ's impatience with, 6–7, 26, 175, 245; in professional study, 13, 105, 169–70, 260, 266; in theoretical thinking, 219, 229–30, 232–33, 236; uncertainty of, 10, 52
Academy of Fine Arts (New York), 143
acid phosphate, 43, 229
acute symptoms, 106, 109, 116
Adirondacks, 267, 274–76
adrenal glands, 87
Agassiz, Elizabeth Cary, 56, 60–61, 65
Agassiz, Louis, 34, 49–50, 53–54, 56, 57–58, 203, 243; leadership of expedition to Amazon River in Brazil, 10, 54–68, 144, 164, 196, 199–200; racist views of, 59, 70, 72–75, 178, 203–4, 288n48. *See also* field naturalism
Albanese, Catherine, 184
Alcott, Louisa May, 29, 40
Alexander the Great, 155
Alexandrina (Native guide on the Agassiz expedition), 60–61.
Alline, Henry, 251
Allston, Washington, 138
alternative medicine. *See* sectarian medicine
Amazon River: Agassiz expedition exploration of, 54–59, 62; WJ's experiences on the, 62–68, 70, 203–4. *See also* Agassiz, Louis; Alexandrina; Jesuina; natural history
American Medical Association, 104
anatomy, 43, 52, 68, 81, 89
ancient culture, 133–70, 177, 232, 239, 249, 266; Athens, 140, 164; modern culture compared with, 146–53, 157–58, 170, 223, 237, 271. *See also* Greece, ancient; philhellenism; Rome, ancient; Stoicism
angina pectoris (caused by aortic sclerosis), 275
animal electricity, 92
Anshutz, Thomas, 141
anthropology, 73
apologetics, religious, 185
Aristotle, 69
Arnold, Matthew, 150, 165
Aryan superiority, theories of, 178. *See also* racism, scientific
asylums, 51, 79–80, 84, 111, 215, 252–57. *See also* McLean Asylum
Auerbach, Erich, 298n29
automaton theory, 241–42. *See also* Huxley, Thomas Henry

Baconianism, 42, 80
bacteriology, 109
Bain, Alexander, 94, 230–31, 240
Bakewell, Charles, 12
Bancroft, George, 142
Barbour, Ian, 176
Barnard, William, 271
Barnum, P. T., 144
"battle of the books," 137
Beard, George, 59, 124–25, 209. *See also* neurasthenia
Beethoven, Ludwig van, 195

Berlin, 91
Bernard, Claude, 85–86, 89
Bible, the, 4, 139, 192, 255, 312n100; Aaron, 211; Ezekiel, Book of, 193; Moses, 211; New Testament, 193–94
Bierstadt, Albert. *See* painting, landscape
Bigelow, Henry Jacob, 81, 99
Bigelow, Jacob, 81
biographical method, 21–22, 190, 270, 273–74, 284n24, 303n5
biomedicine. *See* scientific medicine
Blake, William, 196
body reforms, 105
Boott, Elizabeth, 211
Bordogna, Francesca, 273
Boston: Athenæum, 137–38; James's family in, 52–53
botanical medicine, 104, 108, 110
Bowditch, Henry: and the Adirondacks, 267; and WJ's medical examination, 100; as student of physiology, 2, 4, 78, 97–98, 160; in support of scientific medicine, 84; and temperature issues, 121–22; and women, 208
Bradley, F. H., 170
Brainerd, David, 39
Brazil. *See under* Agassiz, Louis
Broad Church movement, 277
Brooks, Phillips, 277
Brown-Séquard, Edouard, 86–89
Brücke, Ernst, 92; materialist oath, 92–94
Buber, Martin, 47
Büchner, Ludwig, 243
Buddhism, 171, 189
Bunyan, John, 251, 311n95
Bushnell, Horace, 189, 211
Byrd, William, 39

Cambridge, 197
Carlyle, Thomas, 135
Carpenter, William, 9
Carr, Caleb, 309n81
Carrette, Jeremy, 283–84n21, 308n61
cast statues, 138, 143–44
Catholicism, Roman, 35
causation, 90, 108, 121
certainty and uncertainty: and absolutes, 16; and ambivalence, 245; certainty in religion, 95, 151, 174, 248; certainty in science, 40–41, 95, 151, 265; cultural debates about, 33–38; and dogma, 73; and doubt, 244; and guarantees, 18; and mystery, 13, 268–70; quest for certainty, 181–82, 236; uncertainty endorsed by WJ, 178, 183, 228–29, 231, 270–73, 275; uncertainty in science and philosophy, 45–49, 72–76, 260, 270; vocational uncertainty of WJ, 68, 122, 138, 158–59, 187; and the will, 240, 257, 269–70
Chapman, John Jay, 249
chloral hydrate, 224, 229
Christianity: and art, 149; creationist theories of, 55; early, 42, 134, 156–57; Evangelical, 34–35; and institutional churches, 153–54; and Islam, 141; WJ's views of, 162, 201, 255–56; liberal, 181; Presbyterian, 35; during Reformation, 21; salvation message of, 25, 150; and science, 95; and Stoicism, 164–65, 171. *See also* Bible the; Christian Science; Judaism; Sandemanianism
Christian Science, 104, 127, 131
chronic symptoms, 112–13, 116, 121, 128
chthonic gods, 154. *See also* Greece, ancient
Church, Frederick. *See* painting, landscape
Cicero, 165, 168, 189. *See also* Stoicism
Civil War, American, 27–29, 105, 163–64, 187, 195, 304n12
Clark University, 131
Clifford, William, 37–38
clinical medicine, 81–85, 89–90, 105
Collège de France, 86–87
Comte, Auguste, 37, 85, 94
conatus, 19, 191, 268, 282n19, 304n7; and Spinoza, 19
consciousness as a function, 87
conscription, military, 28–29
Cooper, James Fenimore, 143
"counterirritation" therapy, 123
Crashaw, Richard, 50
creation science, 35
cultural evolution, 72
"curapathy," 109, 129

Damasio, Antonio, 191, 268, 282n19; and conatus, 19
Darwinism: and art, 65; WJ's views of, 10, 43, 58–59, 62–64, 69–75, 138; and probabilities,

33, 74–75; and purpose, 22, 235; and religion, 34–35, 82; and scientific authority, 94–95; scientific objections to, 54–55, 57, 227; and water cure, 116. *See also* philosophy of evolution
Dawkins, Richard, 35
Descartes, René, 231
developmental biography. *See* biographical method
Dewey, John, 182
diagnostic improvements, 90–91
Divan of Hafiz, 191
Divonne, France, 2–4, 119, 121, 198, 255
Dom Pedro II, Brazilian Emperor, 56
Doyle, Arthur Conan, 243
Draper, William, 85
Dresden, 3, 77, 138, 200, 202, 213
Dreyfus affair, 17
dualism: in common sense, 36; WJ's use of, 265–66; of nature and transcendent, 180–81; in science, 38; in science and religion, 16, 37, 80, 185; of subjectivity and objectivity, 47. *See also* nondualism
du Bois-Reymond, Emil, 77, 91–95, 98, 102, 241, 243; animal electricity, research on, 92, 125–26, 268; materialist oath, 92–94
du Bois, W. E. B., 17, 281n16

Eakins, Thomas, 150
eclectic medical system, 108
Eclipse of Certainty, 7
Eddy, Mary Baker, 104. *See also* Christian Science; mind cure
edifying philosophy (lived philosophy), 13, 62, 168–70, 274. *See also* philosophizing
electrical therapies, 123, 125
electromagnetic induction, 42
Eliot, Charles, 40–44, 49, 99–100, 246, 254
emancipation of slaves, 29, 31, 53, 163, 217, 285n1
embodied mind: in biography, 22–23; hylozoism, 37; and nondualism, 282n19; and panpsychism, 19, 182–83, 271, 285n12, 313n10; and religion, 283–84n21; and science, 37–39, 181; and spirituality, 36–37
emergentist thinking, 87
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 13, 40, 91, 191–92, 193–94, 280n13, 304n7
emetics, 105
empiricism, 33–34, 201, 216, 219; and art, 144; and history, 153; WJ's approach to, 94, 265–66; and materialism, 94; in medicine, 81–82, 103, 105–6, 108, 113; and naturalism, 260, 276; in psychology, 242, 246; as "Pure E," 94; and science, 69, 121–22, 173, 206, 214, 234–35, 270–71; and science of religion, 174–75. *See also* Baconianism; clinical medicine
enchantment and disenchantment, 155
Epictetus, 162–63, 167, 169
epilepsy, 244, 252–53, 312n97
Erikson, Erik, 21–22
eugenics, 209
Evangelical Christianity, 34
Everett, Edward, 142
evolution. *See* Darwinism
expectant medicine. *See* self-limiting diseases; therapeutic skepticism

Faraday, Michael, 42, 123
faradization, 123
fate: ancient Greek views of, 146–47, 150, 152, 214, 245; Hindu views of, 177; WJ's personal choices and, 145–47, 161, 225–26, 254, 272; WJ's views of, 150–51, 164, 240
Fechner, Gustav, 91, 292n20
feminism, 48; and religion, 156; and women's rights, 108, 211–12, 299n45. *See also* James, William: gender views of
field naturalism, 49–50, 52–67, 83–84, 197
Finn, Huck, 59–60
Fiske, John, 37
Fontinell, Eugene, 271
Ford, Marcus, 271
Fort Sumter, 29
Fort Wagner, 29
free-labor ideology, 163
French Revolution, 81
Freud, Sigmund, 131–32, 225; on screen memories, 257–58
Frieze, Henry, 143
Froude, James Anthony, 153
future-oriented philosophy, xxi–xxii, 45; in biographical method, 22; and direction, 228, 260; focus on origins in contrast with,

future-oriented philosophy (*continued*) 179; and free will, 245; and meliorism, 207; and pragmatism, 281n16; and teleology, 161. *See also* James, William: on "Program of the Future of Science"; teleology

Galenson, David, 190
galvanization, 98
German romanticism, 141. *See also* Goethe, Johann von; *Hamlet*; Schiller, Friedrich
germ theory of disease. *See* bacteriology
Gibbens, Alice. *See* James, Alice Gibbens
Gilman, Charlotte Perkins, 124
Gilman, Daniel Coit. *See* Johns Hopkins University
Glaude, Eddie, 281n16
Goethe, Johann von, 135, 141, 203, 207–8, 249
Goldmark, Pauline, 212
grace: and ancient Greeks, 136, 140, 142, 147, 150, 162, 171–72; and beauty, 201, 236; in natural life, 193; and positivism, 175; in religion, 206–7; Schiller's views of, 135–36
Grahamism. *See* body reforms
Gray, Asa, 35, 50
Greece, ancient, 25; art of, 152–55, 158, 236; mythology of, 153–54; nature in the culture of, 152–55, 157; philosophy of, 154; religious views of, 150–57
Greek War of Independence, 141
Green, Nicholas St. John, 230
Greene, George Washington, 142
Greene, Mott, 153
Greenough, Horatio, 210

habit, 48, 197, 213, 230–31, 244, 259
Hahnemann, Samuel, 106, 108
Hamlet, 157–59, 162, 202–3, 214
Harris, Sam, 309n74
Harrison, Jane, 155
Harvard College, 139
Harvard Divinity School, 262
Harvard Law School, 53
Harvard Medical School, 104; Bowditch at, 78, 98; clinical practices at, 83–86; faculty of, 52, 81, 86, 98–100; WJ at, 10, 39, 136, 187; laboratory research at, 86–90
Harvard University, 3
Havens, Catherine, 3–4, 201–3, 205, 207, 219, 248
Heade, Martin Johnson. *See* painting, landscape
"healthy minded," 104, 250, 255
Heidegger, Martin, 272
Helmholtz, Hermann von, 7, 77, 92, 96, 100, 118, 187; materialist oath, 92–94
Henry, Joseph, 9, 42
Herodian, 168
heroic medicine, 101
Hinduism, 171, 177–78, 226, 307n57; karma in, 177
Hippocratics, 152
historical perspective, 178–79. *See also* Darwinism; future-oriented philosophy; teleology
History of Religions Club, 177
holism, 102–3, 105–7, 109, 123, 128. *See also* nondualism
Hollinger, David, 195
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Jr., 159, 197, 215
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Sr., 52, 81, 99, 189
Holmes, Sherlock, 243
homeopathy/homeopaths, 102, 105–12, 127–31, 191; aggravations of symptoms in, 106, 116, 123; high-potency vs. low-potency, 109, 111, 130; like cures like (law of similars) in, 106, 121; minimum doses (high dilution) in, 106, 109, 112; theory of resonance in, 131. *See also* vital force
Homer, 138–39, 146, 155, 171, 223, 226
hormone replacement therapies, 87, 123, 127
Humboldt, Alexander von, 55
Hume, David, 46
Hunt, William Morris, 9, 27, 138, 148, 277
Hurston, Zora Neale, 40
Huxley, Thomas Henry, 37, 68–73, 88, 154, 241
hydropathy (hydrotherapy). *See* water cure
hygiene, 107
hylozoism. *See under* embodied mind
hypomnēmata, 168
hypotheses, working, 74–75

ice age, 54, 57–58, 203
idealism: and absolutism, 159–60, 245; and ancient Greeks, 141–44, 147, 209; in art, 150, 155; and improving the world, 172–73; WJ's views of, 175, 206, 232, 234–35, 278; and psychology, 242; and religion, 174, 176, 180,

195, 219–20, 268; and science, 41, 92; and teleology, 161, 240. *See also* Agassiz, Louis; German romanticism; *and under* James, Henry, Sr.; James, William
immanence, theologies of, 137, 156–57, 165, 175. *See also* spirituality
immaterial and material dimensions, relation of. *See* material and immaterial dimensions
immigration, 263
insanity defense. *See under* Forbes, Winslow
irregular medicine. *See* sectarian medicine
Islam, 171
Italy, 247, 249–50, 263

Jackson, Andrew, 103–4
Jackson, John Hughlings, 243
Jack the Ripper, 243
James, Alice (William's sister), 119, 190
James, Alice Gibbens (William's wife), 204, 208, 212, 224, 246, 275, 310n88; religious views of, 248
James, Henry, Jr. (William's brother): and art, 144, 236; as child, 9; early career of, 52–53; and WJ, 211, 247–50; and Metaphysical Club, 234; on Stoicism, 163; on Mary Temple, 172, 225
James, Henry, Sr. (William's father): crisis of, 251, 311n93; educational approaches of, 8–9, 60, 76, 110, 195; fortunate fall theory of, 188; gender views of, 48, 205, 299n45; medical views of, 41, 110–12, 123; philanthropic hopes of, 8, 32, 76, 172, 191; political views of, 28, 31, 79; racial views of, 28, 60, 163; scientific interests of, 9, 32–33, 53; spiritual views of, 50, 70, 135, 206, 270; writings of, 67, 196
James, Henry, III (William's son), 99–100
James, John Vanderburgh, 111
James, Mary, 112, 255, 312n99
James, Robertson (Bob), 29, 123, 163, 209–10, 212, 222, 232
James, Wilkinson (Wilkie), 29–31, 111, 163; Florida farm of, 217
James, William
—on absolutes, acceptance of, 220–21; in art, 202; finite absoluteness, 170–75; and gender, 17–18, 49; in modern culture, 95, 151, 158; opposition to, 149, 185, 232, 266, 268, 273; in religion, 226; in science, 72
—on acceptance of conditions ("holidays to the spirit"), 219–26, 233, 248, 252, 255, 257
—advice, giving of, 159–60, 212, 241, 299n45
—ancient culture, interest in, 297n1
—art and science for, 9
—artistic interests of, 64–66, 137–38, 145–51, 236, 289n55
—art of, 2–4, 60–66
—book lists of, 189, 218, 222
—caterpillar, as metaphor for, 217
—chemistry, study of, 40–43, 49, 137
—on conversion, 231, 251–58
—crises of, 97, 195, 215, 222; and learning from, 187–89, 197, 233–34; and moral effort, 223–24; and music, 202; and the school year, 262; as setbacks for, 117–18, 249, 305n23; in scholarship on WJ, 303n2, 311n89, 311n93; as story in *Varieties of Religious Experience,* 250–60; and Mary Temple's death, 196, 224–27, 233;
—on cultural diversity, 17–18
—on death: and afterlife, 171; for ancient Greeks, 146, 151, 223; as metaphor in personal development, 236
—death of, 131–32, 275
—decisive ambivalence of, 26, 52, 245, 270
—depression of, 120, 145–46, 187, 189, 195–99, 263; with hopelessness of, 215–16; and ill health of, 63, 118; Henry James, Jr., depiction of, 249–50; and uncertainties of, 240; about women, 201
—diary writing, laboratory experiments for, 229–33, 235, 238
—on disciplines, 21, 151, 197–98, 268, 273
—dog of, 169
—education in science and religion of, 7, 16, 18, 266, 269
—and "ever not quite," 65, 131, 245, 258, 274, 277–78
—on experience, 205, 219, 232; and action, 202; his own, as basis for theorizing, 5–7, 11–13, 16, 62, 274; in naturalistic inquiries, 65, 245, 247, 263; in religion, 175, 184; in scientific investigation, 54, 57–58; in sectarian medicine, 103, 122–23, 127–28, 267–68; as whole of reality, 132, 272

—on faith, 46–47, 176, 237–38
—father, views of his, 8–10, 67, 222
—finite absoluteness, views of, 173
—on free will, 194–95, 237–42, 245–46, 259–61; and determinism, 185, 262–63, 278, 309n81; in his own choices, 24, 250, 254; and morality, 161, 223; and personal choices, xix, 66; and Charles Renouvier's philosophy, 228–32; in his thinking before influence of Charles Renouvier, 159, 309n76; and weakness of will, 202, 207, 214; and Chauncey Wright's philosophy, 234–35
—gaps in writing of, 218
—gender views of, 17–18, 49, 281–82n17
—guarantees, dislike of, 16, 18, 179, 188, 247, 266, 272
—health of, 43, 95–96, 198–99, 248–49, 275, 314n16; and medical thesis, 120; and neurasthenia, 124–25; with use of sectarian medicine, 111–12, 159, 188; at water cures, 77–78, 91, 117, 119
—hiking, love of, 262, 269, 275
—historical scholarship on, 282–83n20, 303n2, 303n4
—indecisiveness of, 25–26, 27, 52, 248, 264, 272
—individual particularity, belief in, 132
—on "inscendence," 174, 301n68
—introspective method of, 13, 121, 214, 219, 263, 272
—marriage, views of, 209–11, 213, 215, 221
—marriage of, 50, 209, 247
—materialism, views of, 10, 19–20
—mediating theories of, 133, 146, 170, 262, 266–70, 276–78; anticipating later theories, 11, 231, 245, 266–67, 276; in medicine, 78; in religion, 172; in science, 69, 244; as temperamental trait, 25–26
—medical education of, 79–81, 97, 197–98, 214, 290n3
—medical examination of, 99–100, 185, 293n32
—medical thesis of, 119
—on the "more," 173–75
—nature and natural facts, views of, 24–25, 132–37; and ancient Greeks, 144–50; in art, 65–66; without materialism, 6, 126–28, 260, 271; in medicine, 80, 111, 130; in natural selection, 74–75; in natural settings, 267–68, 274–76; in philosophy, 11, 14, 42–43, 240, 245; in religion, 19–20, 255; in science, 10, 38–39, 50, 54, 264, 272; in science and religion, 27, 36–37, 70–71; uncertainty in, 16, 268
—novelty, interest in, 16, 43, 258, 266–67
—order, interest in, 197, 272–73; and crises, 249–50; in philosophy, 245–46, 261; for stability, 236–37, 239; as will to order, 227–33
—on personal direction, 6, 10, 191, 272; in marriage alternatives, 208; and philosophy, 13–14, 230, 274; through struggle, 233
—philanthropic hopes of, 187, 202, 221, 231–32; and idealism, 172; and marriage, 209; in medicine, 76, 91; and pragmatism, 191; in science, 9, 33, 50, 95–96, 223; and Stoicism, 164
—philosophical scholarship on, 283–84n21, 303n2
—philosophy, ambivalence about, 6–7, 9–10, 12–14, 240; as basis for theorizing, 68; and depression, 237; and professional philosophy, 72
—on plasticity of human responses to the world, 245
—political views of, 129
—popular writing of, 50, 68, 98, 122, 256, 264, 289n61
—process thinking of, 159–60
—on "Program of the Future of Science," 71, 289n65; without materialism, 95–96, 136, 171–73; and medicine, 100, 127; and philosophy, 234, 239, 247, 271–72; and science and religion, 75, 195
—Providence, worldly, view of, 172–73
—racial views of, 16–17, 59–61, 163, 281n16, 288n48
—reality, view of, 245, 278
—reflective interests of, 214; as avocation, 78; contrasted with science, 62, 239; and depression, 10–11, 221, 241, 246; and discussion, 66–68, 236; and philosophy, 44–49, 161, 262–66; and psychology, 58; and uncertainty, 276
—relational interests of, 47, 276–78
—and relativism, 149, 179, 270, 308n64

—religious views of, 67, 164, 171–73, 312n98, 312n100; and Bible, 193, 195; and Darwinism, 73; and human experience, 176; and Alice Gibbens James, 248; and religious apologetics, 185; scholarship on, 307n49; and spirituality, 277; and story of the sick soul, 250–58; and the subliminal, 174; and theological questions, 205–7
—results, not expecting, xviii–xix; and depression, 221, 232; and Hinduism, 177; and philosophy, 272–73; and uncertainty, 269–70, 272–73; in vocational choices, 159–61
—sanity, concerns about his own, 51, 190; and depression, 215, 231–32; and Hamlet, 158; and his nervous temperament, 130; and philosophy, 10; and psychology, 195, 244; and story of the sick soul, 250–58; and uncertainty, 80
—scientific method, his reflections on, 62–63, 74–75
—scientist, his identification as, 75, 136, 190, 303–4n6; on Brazil expedition, 53–54, 58–63; and mainstream medicine, 78; and modern philosophy of science, 272; with philanthropic hopes, 33; and philosophy, 237–40, 264, 268; and physiology, 95–98, 100; and positivism, 37; scholarship on, 287n40; and science education, 10–11, 24, 33, 39–40, 43; and skepticism about sectarian medicine, 112–13
—sexual desires of, 199–203, 206, 209–13, 305n33, 307n37
—slow maturation of, 23, 263
—on struggles for improvements, 194; and action, 231; and blundering, 248; and effort, 219–23; and fate, 225–26; without guarantees, 271–72; producing insight, 188, 233; and religion, 255, 257; in the strenuous life, 220, 222; and water cure, 198; and the will, 195; and work, 239
—suicidal thoughts of, 187, 191, 215–16, 226, 131
—as teacher, 12; bringing stability, 250; in the classroom, 248; and Metaphysical Club, 234; of philosophy, 173, 247, 262; of physiology, 84, 95, 237, 246–47; of psychology, 252, 254; of religion, 250–51, 256–58; and retirement, 25–26
—on "trackless forest of human experience," 128, 268–69
—on truth, 179, 270
—unblinking perspective of, 7, 132–33, 223, 232, 247
—on usefulness, 270
—vocational choices of, 2–3, 27, 75; advice about, 159–61; ambitions about, 164; for anatomy, 49; for art, 9, 236; and commitment to hard work, 231; and crises, 187; in different disciplines, 23; father's influence on, 32–33; for medicine, 50, 67–68, 80; for natural history, 60, 62–64; for philosophy, 68, 240; for physiology, 78; for science, 9–11, 33, 43, 190
—weather, sensitivity to, 187, 196, 222–23, 232
—on wisdom, 188, 197
—women, relations with, 25, 67, 199–214, 224, 231, 248, 258
—and "zigzag," 308n61
James, William: theories, lectures, writings
—"Against Nihilism," 234–35,
—"Are We Automata?," 242, 265
—"The Brain and the Mind" (lectures at Lowell Institute), 246
—"The Brain and the Senses in Their Relation to Intelligence" (lectures at Johns Hopkins), 246
—"Brute and Human Intellect," 265
—"On a Certain Blindness in Human Beings," 127
—"The Dilemma of Determinism," 262–63
—"The Energies of Men," 198
—Gifford Lectures, 275
—"The Gospel of Relaxation," 125
—"Philosophical Conceptions and Practical Results," 128–29, 269
—pluralist thinking, 16–18, 23–25; in medicine, 123, 127, 129, 179, 228, 272–73, 276; *A Pluralistic Universe*, 129, 173, 207, 234, 245, 266
—pragmatist thinking, 5, 10, 20, 217; between absolutism and relativism, 149, 309n77; and action, 203, 221; in critique of abstraction, 45, 205; and common sense, 48; and Darwinism, 75; and effects, 202; and experience, 276; and native pragmatism, 60; and meliorism, 207; and neurasthenia, 125; origins of, 244, 310n83; and Charles Peirce,

—pragmatist thinking (*continued*)
13; *Pragmatism*, 69, 266; and religion, 46, 174, 176, 182–83; and Richard Rorty, 182, 272; and truth, 179; and use, 181, 190–91, 205, 270; and will to believe, 231; and world in the making, 220, 245
—*Principles of Psychology*, 5–6, 116, 125, 145–46, 197, 273, 278; responses to, 242–43; on Stoicism, 170–71; use of private writings in, 160; writing of, 98, 212, 246, 265
—"Quelques Considérations sur la method subjective" ("Some Reflections on the Subjective Method"), 265
—radical empiricism, ideas related to: on consciousness, 42, 125; in contrast with materialist science, 94; *Essays in Radical Empiricism*, 5, 266; on experience, 11, 149, 266; as metaphor, 23, on relations, 47, 132, 276; on religion, 173; and uncertainty, 181–82
—"The Sentiment of Rationality": on faith, 46; on feeling at home with ideas, 145; on mystery, 264; on openness to diverse theories, 129, 183; on philosophical commitment, 228, 265; and pragmatism, 244
—"Spencer's Definition of Mind as Correspondence," 37, 194, 244, 264–65
—*Talks to Teachers*, 5
—"Vacations," 125, 217
—*The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 5, 192; on comforting spirituality, 221; on medical materialism, 126; postponement of lectures for, 278; on religion of ancient culture, 171; on religion of healthy-mindedness, 104; and science of religions, 176; with story of the sick soul, 250–58; on subliminal realms, 225
—"The Will to Believe," 5, 192, 241; on ambiguous options, 190; and a fighting faith, 221, 257; on keeping faithful to facts, 54, 256; on the leap of faith, 40, 52; on Blaise Pascal, 217; on precursive faith, 160, 208; and religion at second hand, 176; and Charles Renouvier, 231; in science, 94; and Stoicism, 170
Jamestown, 139
Janet, Pierre, 225. *See also* subconscious (subliminal) mental states
Jenkyns, Richard, 150
Jesuina (from Agassiz expedition), 199–200, 213
Jesus, 193–94. *See also* Christianity
Johns Hopkins University, 246
Judaism, 35, 150, 153, 200–201

Kant, Immanuel, 4, 46, 69, 189, 206
karma. *See* Hinduism
Kittelstrom, Amy, 181
Kloppenberg, James, 181–82
knowledge, the constructed quality of, 46, 48, 176
Kuhn, Thomas, 272

laboratories, scientific: and authority of science, 34, 105, 126; at Harvard Medical School, 99; for Harvard psychology, 246; WJ's hopes for work in, 77–78, 118; WJ's self-experimentation, 224; WJ's work in, 24, 43–44, 80, 83, 85; as metaphor for diary entries, 229; with research on temperature, 121; in scientific medicine, 84–91; in scientific psychology, 91–96, 242; and sectarian medicine, 127. *See also* du Bois-Reymond, Emil; physiological psychology; reaction time experiments; scientific materialism; scientific medicine
Lamberth, David, 271
Lanman, Charles Rockwell, 177
Lawrence Scientific School: curriculum at, 140; Charles Eliot at, 99; WJ's expectations about, 9, 32, 39; WJ's study at, 43, 49, 137;
Laycock, Thomas, 243
Leary, David, 289n55, 307n57, 309n76, 311n95, 312n98, 312n100
Lequyer, Jules, 228–29, 308n60
Lewis, R. W. B., 149, 294–95n58
liberal arts education, 140, 144
licensing laws, medical, 104, 127–28
Lincoln, Abraham, 29
linguistic turn, 182–83
Livingston, Robert, 143
Loerzer, Barbara, 289n55
Lovering, Joseph, 41, 44
Lowell Lectures, 16, 41
Ludwig, Karl, 77; materialist oath, 92–94
Luther, Martin, 21
Lyell, Charles, 57

Mach, Ernst, 265
Madden, Edward, 309n69
Magna Graecia, 142
malaria, 106
Marcus Aurelius, 164–66, 168–69, 189, 214, 233, 274. *See also* Stoicism
Massachusetts 54th Regiment, 29
Massachusetts General Hospital, 67, 83–84, 252
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 99
Massachusetts legislature, 127
Massachusetts Medical College. *See* Harvard Medical School
material and immaterial dimensions, 42; in art, 65, 134; coexistence of, 36–37, 132–33, 152, 154; criticism of overemphasis on either, 195; in experience, 245, 268; in Hinduism, 177; immaterial beyond material, 157, 167; immaterial explaining material, 42, 102, 111, 131; in WJ's medical thesis, 120–22; WJ's use of, 260, 263–64, 266, 271, 278, 282n19, 283–84n21; in mainstream medicine, 76, 79–80, 85, 88–90; material explaining immaterial, 34, 36–38, 41, 171, 175, 241; with nature and spirit, 156–57, 170; with physical and mental, 188, 191; in psychology, 92–94, 228, 238–39, 243–44, 259–60; relation of, 19–20, 23–25, 100, 103, 145, 178, 182; in religion, 206; resistance to materialist explanations, 75–78, 96, 126, 133, 135–36, 254; in science and religion, 36–37, 39, 71, 80, 175, 180–85; scientific hopes to explain immaterial, 38, 89; in sectarian medicine, 103–10; separation of, 36, 134; in sexual attraction, 201; in teleology, 240. *See also* James, William: on "Program of the Future of Science"; naturalism: without materialism; scientific materialism; spirituality
Mather, Cotton, 139
Mauritius. *See* Brown-Séquard, Edouard
Maury, Matthew Fontaine, 56
maya, 177; "abyss of horrors," 10, 239, 246. *See also* Hindusim
McClellan, George B., 29
McLean Asylum (McLean Hospital), 252, 311n96
mechanistic philosophies, 36, 92, 94. *See also* material and immaterial dimensions
medical education, 82–83, 89–90
medical marketplace, 103, 129
medical materialism, 175
medicine. *See* clinical medicine; heroic medicine; medical education; preventive medicine; scientific medicine; sectarian medicine; specificity, principle of; therapeutic routinism; therapeutic skepticism
meliorism, 18, 207
Menand, Louis, 61
Metaphysical Club, 10, 14, 197, 236, 246; and Alexander Bain, 94; and Elizabeth Boott, 211; John Fiske in the, 37; formation of, 234; and pragmatism, 45–46, 75, 244; and thinking about belief and action, 240; and thinking about free will, 224; and thinking about habit, 230; and thinking about psychology and philosophy, 241, 246
Michelangelo, 150, 157
Mignot, Louis. *See* painting, landscape
Mill, John Stuart, 37, 211
Miller, Dickinson, 252
Milne-Edwards, Henri, 226
mind cure, 77, 104, 127, 131
missionaries, 63
misspellings, 302
Mitchell, S. Weir, 124
monogenesis, 70–73
monotheism, 25, 95, 154, 156–57
morality, 136; and ancient culture, 144, 151; and Civil War, 31, 96; and claims to certitude, 228, 248; and craving for order, 236; and effort, 127, 187, 223, 233, 299n32; and free will, 161, 221, 230, 238, 258; and gender, 48; in WJ's crises, 223–26; in Kant, 46; and medicine, 52, 82; and religion, 34; and science, 72, 173; and science and religion, 70, 194–95, 220; and Stoicism, 164, 214; and Thou idea, 47
Moreau, Jacques, 224, 243. *See also* subconscious (subliminal) mental states
Morley, John, 175
Morton, Samuel. *See* racism, scientific
Mount Marcy, 275
Müller, Johannes, 91–92
Müller, Max, 175, 177, 179
Museum of Comparative Anatomy, 246

museums, 143–45, 179. *See also* Academy of Fine Arts (New York); Boston: Barnum, P. T.; Church, Frederick; Museum of Comparative Anatomy; Zwinger Museum
music, 201–2
Myers, Frederick, 225. *See also* subconscious (subliminal) mental states
Myers, Gerald, 265, 283–84n21
mystery, 57, 181–83, 274, 307n54; in ancient culture, 16, 34, 155, 166; in experience, 13, 16, 128, 264, 268; and gender, 18, 48, 156; WJ at home with, 126, 220, 226, 249, 265, 275, 314n16; and mysticism, 36, 202, 207, 228; in nature, 184; in religion, 47, 173, 183; in science, 19, 268; and scientific discovery, 88, 269; and subliminal realm, 174–75, 256; and uncertainty, 38, 260, 270

Native Americans, 59–61, 124
natural healing powers, 102–3, 106
natural history, 236. *See also* field naturalism
naturalism, 34; without materialism, 70–72, 128, 247
natural theology, 34, 137, 242. *See also* science and religion
nature of nature, the, 134, 180. *See also* embodied mind; material and immaterial dimensions; spirituality
nature-trusting heresy, 104. *See also* self-limiting diseases; therapeutic skepticism
Naturphilosophie, 89
nervous system, 87–89, 96, 125, 242–44
neurasthenia, 124–25, 295–96nn69–71; and contemporary psychology, 59, 87, 243; WJ's, 43, 125, 196–98, 217–18, 251; and sex, 209, 213
Newport, RI, 27, 138, 196, 236
New Zealand, 58
Nietzsche, Friedrich, 155
nondualism, 66; in biography, 270; of body and mind, 130; and John Dewey, 181; WJ's contributions to, 19, 181; in WJ's thought, 182–84, 271, 282n19; and natural facts, 273; and spirituality, 184. *See also* dualism; embodied mind; spirituality
North American Review, 69
Norton, Charles Eliot, 69
Nott, Josiah. *See* racism, scientific
numerical method. *See* Paris medicine; probabilistic thinking

Orvell, Miles, 20
Otto, Rudolf, 152
Ovid, 139

paganism, 170–71. *See also* polytheism
painting, landscape, 65–66, 138; Washington Allston, 138; Albert Bierstadt, 66; Frederick Church, 55, 66, 144; Martin Johnson Heade, 66; Louis Mignot, 66
Palmer, George Herbert, 263
panentheism. *See* spirituality
panpsychism. *See* embodied mind
Paris medicine, 81–85, 89, 102. *See also* clinical medicine
Pascal, Blaise, 217
Peirce, Charles Sanders, 234; and chance, 16; early discussions with WJ, 45–47, 62, 75, 238; "Logic of Science" articles, 13, 116, 202, 244; and long-term thinking, 190; in Metaphysical Club, 10, 197, 230; and tychism, 16
pharmacopoeia. *See* remedies
philhellenism (*Graekomanie*), 141
philology, 140
philosophizing, xvii; and career planning, 160; and curiosity, 13; and diversity, 16; about experience, 5, 14, 132; WJ's depression from, 10, 14, 214, 219, 238–40; and WJ grieving, 225–27; and WJ's mature theorizing, 23–24, 235, 260–61, 264–68, 270–74; and WJ's reflections on ancient culture, 135, 149; WJ's reflective interests as, 44, 67–68, 100, 178–79, 229–30; for personal direction, 11–12, 129; about science and religion, 150–51, 183; in Stoicisim, 162, 168–69
philosophy, profession of, 10–12, 44; WJ's contributions to, 20, 274; WJ's interest in, 246–47; WJ as professor in, 173
philosophy of evolution, 37, 69
philosophy of precision, 13, 136, 158
physical culture. *See* body reforms
physics, 41, 44
physiological psychology (scientific psychology), 95–96, 260; and Henry Bowditch, 84;

WJ's study of, 77–78; and scientific medicine, 90–92; Wilhelm Wundt and, 242–43
physiology, WJ's commitment to, 237–40; WJ's study of, 24, 77–78, 90–96; WJ's teaching of, 236; WJ's use of, in medical school, 97–100, 121–22; psychology and, 43, 214; and scientific medicine, 50, 80, 85–90. *See also* physiological psychology
Plato, 69
poetry, 47, 191–94, 196
pointing process, 142
Polanyi, Michael, 235, 302n84. *See also* teleology
polygenesis, 70–73
polytheism, 95, 150–56, 165
Pomfret, Conn., 218, 306n46
Portuguese, 199
positivism, 37–38; WJ's references to, 134, 175; WJ's use of, 265; and medical materialism, 175; and scientific naturalism, 182; revolt against, 259–60; and uncertainty, 268; views of immaterial dimensions in, 181. *See also* Comte, Auguste; scientific materialism
Potter, Alonzo, 57
Pratt, Scott, 60
preventive medicine, 101, 146
primates. *See* spider monkeys
Prince, Katherine James, 49
Prince, William Henry. *See* psychiatry
private writings, 11, 14, 23, 39–40, 251; "animal heat" of, 145, 251, 274
probabilistic thinking, 7, 81, 290n70; in Darwinism, 34, 74–75; WJ's use of, 160, 240, 259; in Metaphysical Club, 270–71; in psychology, 92; in science and religion, 45
professionalism, 81, 104, 113–14, 238. *See also* licensing laws; scientific materialism; scientific medicine
Protestant Reformation, 21
psychiatry, 51, 58
psychology: in biography, 22, 190; and Darwinism, 59; WJ's early work in, 4, 27, 43, 58, 75, 77–79, 218; WJ's hope for work in, 160; WJ's influence on, 20; WJ's mature work in, 80, 98, 122, 125–28, 240–41; WJ's religious uses of, 171, 174–77, 184, 235, 250, 264; WJ's scientific studies of, 84, 90–91, 96; WJ's teaching of, 213, 237, 246–47, 260, 262; and medicine, 50, 97, 132; and neurasthenia, 125; in neuroscience, 190; in Stoicism, 166–67; and story of the sick soul, 243, 250–58. *See also* embodied mind; James, William: depression of; James, William: and *Principles of Psychology*; physiological psychology; subconscious (subliminal) mental states; Wundt, Wilhelm
psychophysical parallelism, 38
psychophysics, 91–91
public health, 105
Putnam, Charles Pickering, 267
Putnam, James Jackson, 267

quackery. *See* sectarian medicine
Quatrefages, Armand de, 73
quinine, 106

racism, scientific, 71–73
Radical Club, 248
Ramsey, Bennett, 271
Raphael, 150, 157
rationalism, 69, 89
reaction time experiments, 92
religion and science. *See* science and religion
remedies: in homeopathy, 106–10, 112, 121, 131; in mainstream medicine, 17, 52, 52, 88–89, 101, 130; in sectarian medicine, 101–4, 114, 120, 123, 127–29, 133
Renouvier, Charles, 4, 46, 159, 227–31, 240, 259
republicanism, American, 139–40
rest cure, 124. *See also* neurasthenia
Richardson, Robert, 306n46, 308n61; on Emerson, 280n13, 304n7; on WJ's heart disease, 314n16; on WJ's medical education, 290n3; on WJ's reading of Hindu texts, 307n57; on WJ's writing styles, 289n61
Rietschel, Ernst, 148–49, 157
Rio de Janeiro, 56–57
Roberts-Hawley lymph compound. *See* hormone replacement therapies
Rome, ancient, 139–40, 142, 155–56, 162, 165, 168, 171
Rorty, Richard, 182–83, 272
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 190
Ruskin, John, 148

Sandemanianism, 42
Sandys, George, 139
Sanitary Commission, 105
Santayana, George, 12
Saturday Club, 53
Schiller, Friedrich, 135–36, 141, 171, 179, 193, 201–3
Schmidt, Dennis, 142
Schopenhauer, Arthur, 307n57, 311n95
science: as breadth of knowledge, 105; dangers of, 40; as specialized research, 105
science and religion, 75; in ancient culture, 134–37, 145, 150–51; in art, 55; history of, 34–39; impacting other domains, 23–24; WJ's approach to, 18–20, 173, 207, 259–60, 278; in medicine, 80, 105, 107; and Metaphysical Club, 286n27; and mystery, 268; philosophical approaches to, 45–46; relation of, 179–86; and Charles Renouvier's influence, 228–29; shared heritage of, 175–79; typologies of, 185n11
science of religions, 173–74, 183, 266
scientific enthusiasm, 39, 69–71, 94–95. *See also* scientific progress
scientificism. *See* positivism; scientific materialism
scientific materialism (scientific naturalism), 33–34, 136; in ancient culture, 150–51; on free will, 309n74, 310n81; in Thomas Huxley, 68–71; WJ burdened by, 214, 241–44, 254; WJ's critique of, 238, 244–46, 259, 268, 271; in WJ's medical education, 97–100; in mainstream medicine, 80, 82, 109; in religion, 175, 180, 195; in psychology, 91–96
scientific medicine (regular medicine), 80–90, 99; allopathy as name for, 107; in WJ's medical studies, 24, 76; WJ's skepticism about, 41, 52, 62, 126; resistance to, 103, 108. *See also* bacteriology; scientific materialism; side effects
scientific progress, hope for, 82, 84, 94, 95, 97, 102
scientific reductionism: in Emil du Bois-Reymond, 93; against free will, 237–38; WJ's critique of, 100–101, 242, 247, 258, 260, 271; scientific critiques of, 191. *See also* scientific enthusiasm
scientific research programs, 74–75
sectarian medicine, 100–122; in contrast with mainstream medicine, 41; in James family, 80, 105, 107, 110–12, 122–23; WJ's interest in, 24, 128–29, 132–33; WJ's public support for, 127–28; WJ's use of, 76–80, 96, 126, 129–31; slow healing of, 114, 117, 123, 130–31
secularism, 7, 34–35, 81
Sedgwick, Catherine Maria, 142
selective attention, 20, 45–46, 58–59, 230, 242, 270
self-limiting diseases, 99
Sequarine. *See* hormone replacement therapies
Seth, James, 12
Shakespeare. See *Hamlet*
Shaler, Nathaniel Southgate, 113
shanty, 267, 269, 275–76
Shaw, Robert Gould, 29
"sick soul," 251–59
side effects, medical, 114
Simon, Linda, 290n3, 304n19, 307n51, 311n95, 312n97
skepticism, 179, 230
smallpox, 60–63, 107
Snow, C. P., 177
somaesthetics. *See* embodied mind
Sönderqvist, Thomas, 22
specificity, principle of, 82, 113, 132. *See also* uniformity of disease states
Spencer, Herbert, 4, 189; WJ's critique of, 94, 192, 194, 237–38, 244, 265; and scientific materialism, 37–38, 243, 309n74
spermatorrhoea, 213
spider monkeys, 58, 182
Spinoza, Baruch, 19
spirituality: in ancient culture, 151–55; in contrast with monotheism, 155–57; and depth psychology, 20, 174–75; WJ's support of, 16, 43, 172–74, 283–84n21; in liberal religion, 302n83; for mediation of science and religion, 70–71, 175–79; and nature, 179–81; and nondualist thinking, 181–85; and reduction of material to immaterial dimensions, 36–37; in relation to science, 19, 38, 292n20; in romanticism, 135–36; in sectarian medicine, 131. *See also* embodied mind; James, Henry, Sr.: spiritual views of

spontaneity, 60, 206–7, 248; in ancient culture, 147; in human evolution, 244, 264–65; Henry James, Sr.'s support of, 8; in WJ, 24; and WJ's crises, 258–59; in natural settings, 275; in romantic thought, 135–36. *See also* grace
Steffens, Lincoln, 242–43
Stephen, James Fitzjames, 40
stethoscopes, 80
Stevenson, Louise, 140
Stoicism, 162–70; in contrast with monotheism, 25; on fate, 245; on free will, 198–99, 203, 207, 214–15, 241, 259; on the inner citadel, 214, 224; WJ's criticism of, 170–71, 248; WJ's use of, 172, 180, 184–85, 194, 196, 233; as lived philosophy, 13, 180, 209, 219, 238; and modern science, 242; philosophical aspects of, 165–67, 300n56; and Charles Renouvier's philosophy, 229–31; Mary Temple's interest in, 171–72, 196, 224; on wishful expectations, 167, 215, 233
Story, William Wetmore, 147
Strang, L. G., 131
Stuart, Isaac, 141
subconscious (subliminal) mental states, 18, 174, 225, 235, 266
suppression of diseases, 115
susceptibility to illness, 107. *See also* preventive medicine; sectarian medicine
Sutton, Emma, 290n3, 296n72
Swedenborg, Emanuel, 4, 189, 191; and conatus, 19, 191; and Henry James, Sr., 8, 42, 191, 251, 311n93; and sectarian medicine, 104, 111

Tanagra figures, 141
Taylor, Charles, 26, 302n83
Taylor, Eugene, 271
Taylor, James, 130. *See also* homeopathy/homeopaths
Taylor, John Madison, 130. *See also* homeopathy/homeopaths
teleology, 22, 161, 195, 215, 235, 240
temperance crusade. *See* body reforms
Temple, Katherine, 195
Temple, Mary (Minny), 67, 171–72, 196, 224–26, 229, 233, 236
Teplitz (Teplice, Teplička), Bohemia (Czech Republic), 3, 77, 117–18, 198
Thayer, Nathaniel, 54, 56
therapeutic hopes, 86, 89–91. *See also* scientific progress
therapeutic routinism, 82. *See also* probabilistic thinking
therapeutic skepticism, 82, 99, 101
Thomsonianism, 104, 108, 110
thought as an action, 231–33
Tolstoy, Leo, 251
transcendence, theologies of, 137, 156–57, 165, 171–73, 176, 180, 184
transcendentalism, 38
Turner, James, 184

uncertainty and certainty. *See* certainty and uncertainty
uniformity of disease states, 82, 89, 90
utilitarianism, 216, 223

vaccines, 107
vanishing point, 147
Vedas. *See* Hindusim
Venus, representations of, 143, 147, 150, 209–10
Viney, Wayne, 308n60
Virgil, 139
vital force, 102, 110–11, 126, 191; energetic basis of, 108
vitalism, 102. *See also* embodied mind; nondualism; spirituality
vitality, 66, 114, 102–3, 155, 191, 203, 213, 275
vivisection, 88

Wallace, Alfred Russel, 55, 71–73
Ward, Thomas, 67, 119, 159, 164, 208–9
water cure (hydropathy), 105, 112–17, 152; on congestion, 78, 113–15, 121; crises in, 115–17, 123, 202, 216, 249, 304n18; WJ's experiences, 2–4, 77, 95, 117–21, 127, 255; James family use of, 110, 112; for renewing WJ's energy, 91, 95, 125, 197–98, 262; temperature evaluations in, 77–78, 113, 115, 120–22, 145; therapeutics of, 78
Weber, Ernst, 91
Weber, Max, 155
West, Cornel, 281n16
Wheatley, Phillis, 139
Whewell, William, 105
White, James Clark, 99

Whitehead, Alfred North, 98
Whitman, Sarah, 212, 277–78
Whorton, James, 109
Wild, John, 271
Wilkinson, John James Garth, 111–12, 116
Winckelmann, Johann, 141
Winslow, Forbes, 51–52, 195, 241, 243; and insanity defense, 309n81
Winterer, Caroline, 140
Wordsworth, William, 135
Works of William James, 284n23
Wright, Chauncey, 10, 67, 197, 234–35, 266, 309n69
Wundt, Wilhelm, 77, 96, 118, 242–43
Wyman, Jeffries, 43, 49, 52, 58, 70, 72, 81

Zeno of Citium, 164. *See also* Stoicism
Zwinger Museum, 138, 145–51